

THE SHAKESPEARE CANON

PART III

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE
SHAKESPEARE CANON: PROCEEDING ON THE
PROBLEM OF "TITUS ANDRONICUS."

THE SHAKESPEARE CANON: PART I:

I: The Origination of "Henry V."

II: The Origination of "Julius Cæsar."

III: The Authorship of "Richard III."

THE SHAKESPEARE CANON: PART II:

I: The Authorship of "The Two Gentlemen of Verona."

II: The Authorship of "Richard II."

III: The Authorship of "The Comedy of Errors."

IV: The Problem of "Measure for Measure."

THE PROBLEM OF "HAMLET."

"HAMLET" ONCE MORE.

CROCE AS SHAKESPEAREAN CRITIC.

SHAKESPEARE AND CHAPMAN.

THE PROBLEM OF "THE MERRY WIVES OF
WINDSOR."

MONTAIGNE AND SHAKESPEARE.

THE BACONIAN HERESY: A Confutation.

ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE.

THE SHAKESPEARE CANON

PART III

- I: THE "ACCEPTANCE" OF "SHAKESPEARE"
- II: "ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL"
- III: "ROMEO AND JULIET"

BY

J. M. ROBERTSON

LONDON
GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LTD.
NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO.

1925

PREFACE

The devotion of the British Academy "Shakespeare Lecture" of 1924 to what the learned lecturer called "The Disintegration of Shakespeare" is a welcome sign of what may be termed awakening in the traditionary school of Shakespeare-study. A special word of gratitude is due to Lord Balfour, who as President introduced and wound up the proceedings, for putting in a popular way what he regarded as a practical problem raised by the theories which the lecturer, Dr. E. K. Chambers, had been controverting. They appeared, he observed (adapting a phrase of the lecturer's), to allege a kind of "socialistic" activity on the Elizabethan stage, a number of plays being conceived as each the work of a number of collaborating and revising hands. According to one report of his final words, "he thought that if so much of other men's work was in Shakespeare's plays there must be much Shakespearean work in other dramatists' plays, and ironically suggested that the 'iconoclasts' should give us a collection of Shakespearean work in other people's plays." I do not think Lord Balfour really said "must be"; but the report conveys generally the impression one received from his remarks.

A sound conservatism in all things comes naturally to, and always sits gracefully on, Lord Balfour; but if Dr. Chambers had only indicated the issues a little more clearly the quick understanding of the noble President would hardly have shaped his challenge as

he put it. For not only the "iconoclasts" but many of the traditionists, including Dr. Chambers, assert in effect that the Folio contains a certain amount of "Shakespeare's work in other men's plays." That is in substance how Dr. Chambers describes the HENRY VI plays, TIMON, and, finally, TITUS ANDRONICUS, to say nothing of others. As regards those plays, at least, and as regards PERICLES, probably the majority of Shakespeare scholars are "disintegrators" and "iconoclasts." And quite a large number of them, probably, would now be ready, with Dr. Chambers, to assure Lord Balfour that HENRY VIII is a composite play, and that HAMLET is primarily "another man's play" which Shakespeare has largely rewritten.

Further, had Dr. Chambers been concerned to deal broadly with the general problem involved, he might have pointed out that Shakespeare is very widely held, even by soundly iconolatrous scholars, to have written certain portions of THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN, and a portion of SIR THOMAS MORE. In the latter case he was confessedly adding to a play by other men—for there are indisputably several hands involved. In the former case, he may or may not have schemed the play with Fletcher, who, according to the title-page of the edition of 1634, collaborated with him.

In short, while Shakespeare by common consent had a hand in plays by other men which are *not* in the Folio, it is not in general denied by the traditionists who have studied the problem that a number of the plays *in* the Folio are of other men's making, and but partly revised or interpolated by Shakespeare. And the drift of the reasoning of the "iconoclasts" is to the effect that a considerably larger number of Folio plays than are commonly reckoned "doubtful" are really so

in a greater or smaller degree. In the present volume, this is argued-for as regards ALL'S WELL and ROMEO AND JULIET. Lord Balfour will admit, I think, when the facts are put before him, that his general challenge, as he put it, is beside the case; that the Elizabethan drama *was* largely "socialistic," in the playful sense of his phrase; and that the genuineness or compositeness of all the challenged plays is to be adjudicated-on in the light of all the evidence adduced.

The argument as to ALL'S WELL, which was outlined by me in SHAKESPEARE AND CHAPMAN in 1917, is in the following pages more fully developed, with a further view to showing how inevitably the traditionist school, if it continues to claim for this and other plays a Shakespearean origin and construction, is committed to viewing him as the most universal and hardened copyist of other men's manner and matter in the whole Elizabethan drama. In regard to ROMEO AND JULIET, an obviously "early" work, this attitude might perhaps be maintained without rudely disturbing the iconolatrous public; in regard to a play dated, as is ALL'S WELL, in the period of Shakespeare's maturity, it will perhaps be found impossible by most people who are concerned to face such problems at all.

It is important, finally, to call attention to the misleading effect of the general answer of Dr. Chambers to the "iconoclastic" case. This is partly due to his actual argumentation, partly to his ostensible assumption that formal rejoinders at points are general refutations. Some hearers, apparently, have gathered from his lecture that the "disintegrators" are disposed of by the simple solution that Shakespeare at different times used different styles. This may mean merely that, at a given time, Shakespeare like another might vary his style, in the

loose but defensible sense in which Greene or another may be said to have "many styles." But that is an argument beside the case. In a sense, there are several styles in HAMLET—the narrative style of the Ghost, the prattling style of Polonius, the nervous, intense style of Hamlet's discourse before the entry of the Ghost, and of his self-accusing soliloquies; the fluent hortatory style of Laertes to Ophelia, and so on. These variations may be reduced to differences of key, theme, and person, such as might arise in a homogeneous play—which HAMLET is not. But this is not what is meant when we speak of the differences of style between Shakespeare and, say, Peele, or Greene, or Marlowe, or Chapman.

A man may walk quickly or slowly, saunter, or use long strides, trot, or run; but his gait in all of these motions will be recognisable, to those who intimately know him, as *his*: it will not be the gait of another man doing the same thing. And that there are such structural differences between different men's styles is expressly alleged by Dr. Chambers when he confidently affirms that there is an instantaneously and unmistakably obvious difference between the different hands in PERICLES and TIMON. There he makes no account of the possibility of the poet writing in different manners: he takes for granted an unbridgeable difference between the manners of different men—apart, that is, from deliberate mimicry. Fleay's phrase about the "strange feeling" set up by the varying style in JULIUS CÆSAR he facetiously treats as a naïve nullity. Yet it is exactly the kind of notion upon which he confidently founds his conclusions as to PERICLES. And when he argues in his lecture that I "look for a Shakespeare always at the top of his achievement," implying that for me Shake-

Shakespeare's style is recognisable only at its highest flight, he is but contributing to the misinformation of those who do not read books for themselves. The cited phrase might by anyone else be turned to the dismissal of his own theory of the heterogeneity of *TIMON* and *PERICLES*, to say nothing of *TITUS*. It is only the critical who, knowing that no poet is ever at "the height of his achievement" for over a hundred lines in sequence, can divine the misconception.

In respect of these resorts to forensic and eristic shifts, in an academic prolusion which should have conformed to more scientific standards, Dr. Chambers is still unregenerate. His Academy lecture as a whole does indeed tell of critical progress. For the blend of intimidation and timidity which shapes his zig-zag course in the introductions to "The Red Letter Shakespeare" he has substituted a relatively cautious procedure of general negation and dubiety. But, as he memorably observes in his introduction to the "Warwick" *HAMLET*, the habits of a lifetime are not easily to be altered. The tendency to solve difficult scholarly problems by merely substituting forced pleasantries for inconclusive aspersions is apparently a proclivity hard to be ejected, though it still recoils disastrously upon the practitioner, in virtue of the brutal law that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander.

Now, however, that Dr. Chambers has actually faced the crux of the Imitation Theory, which hitherto he had failed to recognise as the fatality of his traditionist method, the situation becomes really progressive. His attempt to escape the horns of the dilemma is critically dealt with in the ensuing pages; as is his surprising resort to an argument of biographical improbability by way of countering the evidence as to Chapman matter in

Folio plays. These are, however, perhaps the natural moves in such a debate; and it may be cheerfully left to independent students to study the issues for themselves. If that be done, neither the most strict inattention to business nor the most Ptolemaic theorising on the part of traditionists will in the long run save from "disintegration" a Canon which they themselves perforce admit to be in large part false. The lecture of Dr. Chambers is but the beginning of the end. On that score, it is abundantly entitled to the cordial kind of blessing which he finally bestowed on the disintegrators. Even the device of calling the disintegration of the Canon the disintegration of Shakespeare will do little to avert the progression.

More service, perhaps, is to be derived from the more subtle expedient of representing the disintegrator as an "idolater" who cannot admit that Shakespeare can ever have written badly. But the weak point about that proposition¹ is not merely its explicit falsity—which would count for little with readers who are not concerned to read both sides—but its recoil. For Dr. Chambers, as is shown in some detail in the following pages, has himself disintegrated a large batch of the Folio plays on no better warrant than his "sentiment" that parts are too poor to be Shakespeare's work. In his editorial pilgrimage he has disintegrated fatally, if not freely, and it suffices to keep the facts in view. If we cannot yet have a scientific debate, we may at least have what Dr. Chambers calls entertainment.

That a scientific debate is still some way off may

¹ It is only fair to Dr. Chambers to say that in this line of argument he was anticipated by my esteemed friend William Archer. "An inordinate reverence for Shakespeare" is his general indictment against the present undertaking. [This preface, with the above note, was in the printer's hands when I received the lamentable news of the death of my old friend. To have no more debate with him is for me an impoverishment of life.]

be gathered in particular from an intelligent review of Dr. Chambers's Academy lecture in the *Times Literary Supplement*. "It has long been the impression of many students of the drama," says the reviewer, that the large shares in the Folio plays which I attribute to Marlowe and Chapman "are not only intrinsically improbable, but cannot be proved by arguments of the kind on which Mr. Robertson relies." Many able treatises on logic leave one very uncertain as to what is meant by "proved"; and this is not the time or place for going into that issue. But it is relevant to ask the reviewer and the "many students" in question whether he and they really suppose that they can *prove* Shakespeare's authorship of all the plays in the Folio by simply citing the claim of its editors. If that proves anything as to absolute authorship, it proves Shakespeare's absolute authorship of, say, *TITUS* and the *HENRY VI* plays. If they do not believe in the authorship in those instances, the "proof" has gone by the board. If they do believe in it, let their notion of "proof" be duly noted.

The reviewer in question indirectly suggests that his proposition as to "proof" is not meant to convey much. "The Bible," he assures us, "remains the Bible," though he implicitly avows that "the higher criticism" (an expression to which he justly demurs) has profoundly altered the scholarly view of its contents. In express connexion with that observation, he writes:—

"Students may argue as much as they like as to how the texts of Shakespeare's plays reached the form in which they were printed in 1623; but save for minute alterations, not many of which probably remain to be made, the plays will assuredly continue to be printed always in the form in which we now know them."

It is to be hoped that "students of the drama" will realise what this amounts to. It is in effect an assertion

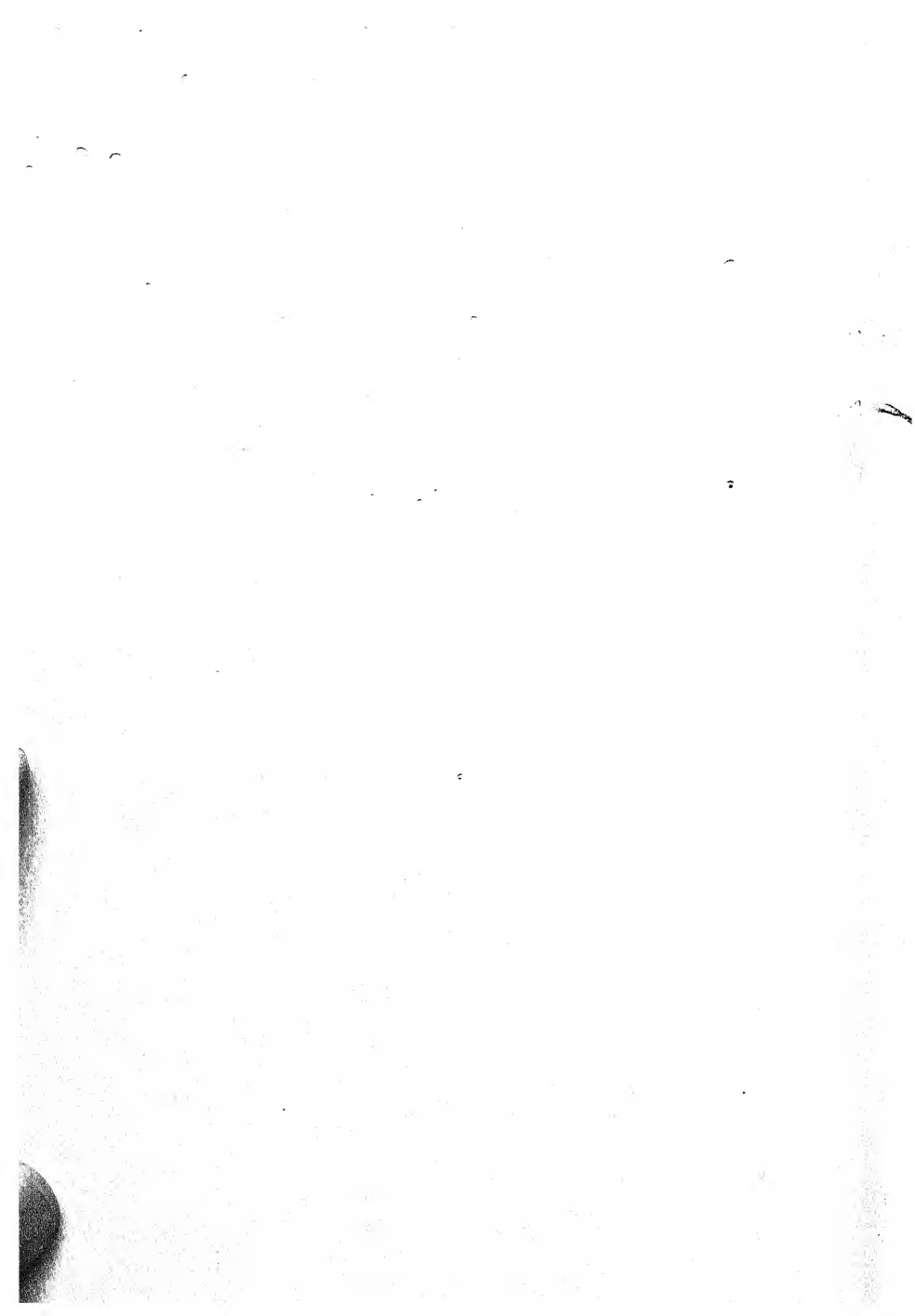
that editors of Shakespeare need not care whether he wrote the plays or not, because their editions will always continue to be more or less in demand. Perhaps they will. But if anyone should carry out a project prematurely framed by the present writer thirty years ago, and issue an edition showing by differences of type as well as by critical introductions the distribution of Shakespearean and non-Shakespearean matter in the plays, the explicit prediction of the reviewer would be rather disastrously exploded. Prediction has been pronounced "the most gratuitous form of error"; and I am not going to compete in that direction with the reviewer, whose happy confidence as to what is "intrinsically improbable" I cannot pretend to match. But that one day, when the discrimination of the Shakespeare Canon has been carried to a degree of exactitude which I do not pretend to have reached, even the editors will have to reckon with it, seems to me *not* intrinsically improbable.

In any case, let those who challenge "proof" offer us something in the nature of proof for their dogmatic positions, as against arguments which posit contrary "probabilities." The history of the "higher criticism," so called, should warn them that the policy of blank asseveration is ultimately unavailing. The intelligent reviewer himself implies as much. And new evidence of forward movement has reached me since the composition of this volume was finished.¹ While the section on ROMEO AND JULIET is being type-written, I have received the new edition (1924) of the first Quarto of that play by Professor Frank G. Hubbard, of the University of Wisconsin, who has already done such valuable editorial work on the first Quarto of HAMLET.

¹ In November 1924.

In his introduction, as to which I had no previous communication with him, Professor Hubbard puts with what seems to me conclusive force, and with a much larger array of argument than mine on matters of which he is specially a master, some of the main positions which I had reached on a narrower basis of study. He effectively proves, that is to say, (1) that the First Quarto of *ROMEO AND JULIET* is not piratical; (2) that the phenomena founded on to prove that view have been not only misinterpreted but mistakenly commented: and (3), that Q 1 contains overwhelming evidence of an underlying and pre-Shakespearean play.

To preserve any value there may be in my own argument as an independent view corroborating Professor Hubbard's, I have left the text unchanged while adding notes calling attention to the main points of his instructive and authoritative exposition. Such coincidences of view, independently reached, will perhaps suggest to open-minded readers that the critical process has not been an arbitrary one, in either case. And I am confident that the arguments of Professor Hubbard will go far to convince them, whatever may be the effect of mine.



I

THE "ACCEPTANCE" OF "SHAKESPEARE"

I

It is the natural tactic of the opponents of what Dr. E. K. Chambers strategically terms "the disintegration of Shakespeare" to affect a simple rectitude of procedure. "Anchored," as Sir Walter Raleigh fitly put it, to the blameless editorship of Heminge and Condell, they claim to oppose to "rash speculation" the attitude of straightforward scholarship, which draws only warranted inferences, building on the known facts. In the interest, then, of honest inquirers who fear the frown of authority, it becomes a work of mercy to show that in this as in so many earlier instances of orthodox menace to new light, the asseverated rectitude of the "old guard" is but the usual cue of traditionists who are really far more speculative than is the doctrine they resist, and who do but present to the world a Ptolemaic system of *à priori* harmonies which leaves all the salient problems darker than before. They are indeed "all honourable men," but as reasoners they challenge impeachment.

Their outstanding characteristic is precisely their speculativeness. In this there is nothing new; for nothing is more speculative than resolved orthodoxy, which is by its psychic structure prepared to accept any thesis that pretends to safeguard the challenged creed. As Spencer put it seventy years ago: "Those who cavalierly reject the Theory of Evolution as not adequately supported by facts, seem quite to forget that their own theory is supported by no facts at all. Like

the majority of men who are born to a given belief, they demand the most rigorous proof of any adverse belief, but assume that their own needs none."¹

The most uncomfortable beliefs are thus pathetically championed, out of sheer force of habit. Pseudo-scientific formulas squaring Genesis with geology, and myth with history, elicited at once an unhesitating faith from minds for which they would not have had the slightest interest were the creed not involved. "Speculation," in such crises, becomes the joyful exercise of minds consciously anti-speculative. And orthodoxy is always fertile in ill-based theories. Malone, who would not see any grounds for "disintegrating" the Folio after he had cancelled out the HENRY VI plays and TITUS ANDRONICUS, is responsible for the idle guess that Shakespeare must have had a legal training. That "speculation" became one of the bases of Baconism; and is to this day the trusted weapon of all "anti-Stratfordian" propaganda. Malone was content to frame it because he had never properly studied Jonson and Chapman; and among similarly one-sided students he has found his following.

Equally baseless is the proposition that the actor from Stratford was an accomplished classical scholar; and that figment of idolatry has served no less than the other to forward the Baconian and kindred creeds. Discredited in the eighteenth century by the truly scholarly criticism of Farmer, it was blusterously championed in the nineteenth by the voluble Maginn; and in the last generation it was zealously propounded by one of the old guard of Folio-worshippers, the late Professor Churton Collins, who was as sure about Shakespeare's Greek and Latin scholarship as he (finally) was of the decisiveness of the testimony of Meres and Heminge and Condell to his authorship of TITUS ANDRONICUS. Against the first claim there stood the weighty "external evidence" of Ben Jonson. That striking testimony the traditionist brushed aside, in the usual fashion of traditionism, which steadfastly ignores

¹ Essay on *The Development Hypothesis*, 1852-54.

Shakespeare's own declaration that VENUS AND ADONIS was the first heir of his invention.

Furnivall, who could see the Fletcher element in HENRY VIII when other men analysed it out, was merely scandalised when the Clarendon Press editors, unwontedly alert, divined pre-Shakespearean matter in the fooling of Hamlet with Polonius. For him, the matter was to be settled by mere adjuration to "every man and woman with a head" to flout the suggestion. For himself he went about to settle the chronology of the plays by a system of "links of likeness *and* links of difference" which is one of the pearls of Ptolemaic theory, never again applying the critical test which he had accepted for HENRY VIII.

All this is in the way of scientific progress in general; and it is probable that under the slow cumulative pressure of inquiry many of the old ill-founded positions are being quietly abandoned. Few qualified Shakespeareans would to-day maintain, against Ben Jonson, that the Stratford actor was a good classical scholar. But new theorems, no better founded, are still being produced; and the remarkable thing is that they are all associated with an orthodoxy which in the main flouts scientific inquiry into the Shakespeare problem. Scholars who have themselves retreated from some of the more obviously untenable positions of traditionism continue to manufacture speculative formulas in the old fashion, thinking thus to buttress their general positions. With those general formulas they seek to block the critical path of the most scrupulously reasoned propositions as "disintegrative" and "iconoclastic," always either evading detailed argument or resorting to it only at selected points; counting to discredit by an air of authority the force of the appeal to put authority on its trial.

They are not even above devices of a less innocent kind, such as the suggestion that he who challenges the authority of the theatrical claim implicit in the Folio and endorsed by Francis Meres, in effect represents that Meres acted as the players' "cat's-paw in a com-

mercial fraud." Dr. Chambers has now employed that gambit twice, thus conveying the impression that the "iconoclasts" make wholesale charges of roguery against the original promoters and editors of the Folio, though he has latterly had before him express and detailed statements to the contrary, and though even in his Academy lecture there are expressions which commit *him* to charging fraud on Heminge and Condell if the "iconoclasts" are so committed. Such forensic expedients seem out of place in Academy lectures, as tending, in Dr. Chambers's words, to the deceiving of "the people,"—though it might be held rash to suggest that the people are paying any attention. It is time, then, to examine the operation of certain current formulas of what passes for Shakespearean orthodoxy, framed by scholars of high standing, and to apply to them the tests of critical and scholarly rectitude which the framers profess to respect.

II

"I come to accept Shakespeare, not to praise him," said Dr. E. K. Chambers in his lecture entitled "The Disintegration of Shakespeare," delivered under the auspices of the British Academy on 12th May 1924. The audience genially applauded, but whether the doctrine or the ostensible epigram, is uncertain. The implication certainly seemed to be that the lecturer would give no countenance to any "disintegration" of the Canon.

Yet, as an editor, Dr. Chambers had endorsed a notable amount of disintegration, of which, in his lecture, he makes no mention. I have remarked elsewhere¹ on the fashion in which, while vetoing all debate on TITUS ANDRONICUS that does not observe certain remarkable conditions laid down by him, he unhesitatingly disintegrates, on the sole sanction of his intuitions, both TIMON and PERICLES. And that is not the sum of his share in

¹ *An Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon: Prolegomena.*

the work of "subversion." In his introduction to I HENRY VI, it is true, he is shy on the question of the authorship, and even seems to commit himself to the belief that Shakespeare penned the Joan of Arc scenes, which is perhaps cold comfort for the traditionists. But in a prefatory note he is moved to the concession: "It is conceivable that Shakespeare's contribution to the First Part [of the trilogy] may have been limited to the writing of [the Talbot] scenes." Here, then, is another play disintegrated. Dr. Chambers can even "conceive" that Shakespeare did not write the Roses scene, which Fleay assigned to him *with* the Talbot scenes. Of course Dr. Chambers faithfully implies that the Talbot scenes cannot "conceivably" be non-Shakespearean, which is instructive as to his sense of style.

But in the introduction, dated a year later, to Part II of the HENRY VI trilogy, he sounds a more menacing note, as follows:—

"Although the three Parts of *Henry the Sixth* are still, by custom or by courtesy, included in most editions of Shakespeare's plays, there has since the time of Malone been a growing disposition, at any rate amongst English scholars, to deny to him more than a comparatively unimportant share in their composition, and to regard them as the work of one or more of the earlier generation of playwrights under whose influence, undoubtedly, his first dramatic essays were made."

It is but fair to add that the critic, for the nonce turned disintegrator, goes on to placate the dogmatic school by a characteristic aspersion of those who have sought to elucidate the issue:—

"The problem is an interesting one, and probably insoluble, except by the aid of a much more elaborate grammatical and stylistic analysis of all the dramatic writing of the late 'eighties and early 'nineties of the sixteenth century than has ever yet been attempted. Pending such an investigation, it is safe to oppose a wholesome scepticism to the light-hearted endeavours of such empirics as Mr. Fleay to cut up the cake and distribute it in appropriate slices to Marlowe, Kyd, Greene, Lodge, Peele, and Shakespeare. The sufficient refutation of such pseudo-scholarship is the complete failure of its exponents to agree in their results, or even, so far as Mr. Fleay is concerned, to arrive at the same result in different moods."

6 "ACCEPTANCE" OF "SHAKESPEARE"

This will doubtless enable Dr. Chambers to rank, *pro tanto*, as "safe" in contrast with "empirics" like Fleay, to whose work, in a rash moment, he had in an edition of HAMLET avowed his indebtedness;¹ though it may perhaps, after all, elicit unpleasant queries about the "pseudo-scholarship" which laboriously sustained, against a sound but ignored thesis of Fleay, the light-hearted proposition that the JEALOUS COMEDY of 1593 was the COMEDY OF ERRORS under another title—one of the very rashest and vainest speculations in Shakespearean criticism.

But that is another story: the fact remains that Dr. Chambers has put a disintegratory hand to the HENRY VI trilogy. As usual, he cannot make up his mind, even to the extent of pretending to "agree in their results" with the critics to whom he elects to be courteous. There is indeed no fear that he will ever make that wholesale grammatical and stylistic analysis which he declares can alone make the problem "soluble." Having "looked it boldly in the face," he will "pass on." Calling loudly for scientific methods, he is resolute not to apply them. Seeking safety, he will not decide whether, or how far, Shakespeare revised Parts II and III; and he even commits himself to the memorable proposition that in the GROATSWORTH OF WIT Greene's "parody" of the line about the tiger's heart, "so far as it goes, is evidence in favour of Shakespeare's authorship both of the earlier and of the revised version, since the line parodied is part of the CONTENTION itself." "And here," he adds, "I must leave a discussion which after all is bound, in the present state of scholarship on the subject, to remain inconclusive." It certainly will never be concluded by the fortuitous methods of Dr. Chambers, whose intuitions function spontaneously over TIMON and

¹ In the Academy lecture one notes with a touch of satisfaction even the small tribute paid to Fleay, after so much aspersion. But Dr. Chambers is still mainly concerned to make the most of Fleay's miscarriages of inference. One is moved to wonder what Fleay would have said of Dr. Chambers's *bévue* of indexing an imaginary *Tito Andronico* not otherwise indicated. A "howler" of that order, one may venture to say, Fleay never committed. And it is a pity that he did not live to handle Dr. Chambers's egregious proposition that the *Jealous Comedy* was the *Errors* under another title.

PERICLES, but remain more or less inert over all other problems.

Nonetheless, the effect of his opening disintegratory announcement is to lend his editorial countenance to the "English scholars" who, proceeding empirically *without* any justifying "solution" of the problem, have that fatally "growing disposition" to deny that Shakespeare did more than revise the HENRY VI trilogy. They may be, on his showing, empirics and pseudo-scholars; but there they are, and not having sought "safety first" he has contrived to assimilate himself to their colour. And in the introduction to Part III, though his flag is still partly tacked to the fence, he implies,—here cautiously following the late Henry Morley—that Shakespeare in the trilogy is but working on other men's characters. "He had to take them as he found them." Nay, after all the epithets of 1906 against "scepticism" and "sentimentalism" over TITUS, we now read in 1907 that "Whatever [Shakespeare's] share in TITUS ANDRONICUS, it can hardly extend to the structure and motives of the piece." Another play gone! Six already disintegrated! Of course RICHARD III remains intact as the play in which Shakespeare "completes his nonage. It is a masterpiece," albeit "written while the golden key to the unexplored gardens of enchantment which he was to make his own had still to be found." That is to say, in mere prose, Shakespeare *did* produce all those double-endings before he had written the DREAM, or JOHN, or I HENRY IV. And the empirical theory of Fleay, bringing in Marlowe, is duly ignored.

But in 1908, disintegration sets in again. "Modern criticism," we are assured, "has long ago made up its mind that HENRY THE EIGHTH, in the form in which it has come down to us, cannot be classed as a complete and unaided work of Shakespeare." The blow is gingerly dealt, but there it is. Not only is "half of the play" Fletcher's, but Fletcher rather than Shakespeare is to be regarded as the planner; and (tell it not in Gath!) even the non-Fletcherian half "is not notably

8 "ACCEPTANCE" OF "SHAKESPEARE"

inspired stuff," so that "although it might *quite well* be Shakespeare's in one of his less felicitous moods, and perhaps with an old text before him to fetter his imagination," it might after all be Massinger's! Thus are seven plays disintegrated in the "Red Letter" Shakespeare, with all the sanctions of rubricity.

Why Dr. Chambers thus consented once more to accuse Heminge and Condell of falsifying the Canon, it is impossible to say. The Fletcherian character of much of HENRY VIII was established, first, by setting forth the marked differences of style and sentiment in parts of the play, a test which Dr. Chambers now puts aside, on the score that the poet may sink; and, finally, by simple notation of the excessive proportions of double-endings in those parts, a test to which Dr. Chambers in his Academy lecture refuses to accord any weight whatever. He there commits himself further to the argument that Shakespeare was always an experimenter, and therefore likely to imitate both Marlowe and Greene, and to play with "stylistic elements" that had struck him in Chapman. Why not, then, with Fletcherian style and double-endings? There is no answer, simply because it had never occurred to the critic to check his own procedure. But, on the bare ground that "modern criticism has made up its mind," HENRY VIII has been "disintegrated."

And though in 1905 the critic-editor, while unwontedly "sorry to dogmatise," could see "no *insuperable* difficulty in accepting Shakespeare as the sole author of the revision" of the TAMING OF THE SHREW, in 1907 he mentions concerning TROILUS AND CRESSIDA that "Some writers find traces in it of more than one hand or of more than one date of composition"—this without one word of vituperation of empirics and pseudo-scholarship. And not only are we told of CYMBELINE that "the rhymed dream in Act v, Sc. 4, can hardly be from Shakespeare's hand"; but concerning MACBETH it had been callously avowed that "certain passages . . . are probably interpolations, and are much in the manner of Thomas Middleton." And the further sentence: "Other

passages have been regarded by some scholars as not Shakespearean, but hardly upon grounds that carry conviction," is "hardly" reassuring. The sergeant scene, after all, may have to go!

Thus are nine plays disintegrated, and two more blown upon. How much of repentance may have supervened since 1907, to permit of the declaration of 1924, is a problem "probably insoluble," as Dr. Chambers would say: "It is quite *conceivable*," he tells his audience of 1924, "that in *some cases* a substantial Shakespearean contribution, short of full authorship, may have been held to justify the inclusion of a play" in the Folio. Not in nine or eleven cases—only in "some": the modest editor assumes—perhaps warrantably—that very few of his audience have studied his introductions. And now we have in effect the declaration that Shakespeare must have made a "substantial contribution" to *TITUS ANDRONICUS*—as substantial, say, as the Talbot scenes in *1 HENRY VI*. We hear nothing now of modern criticism having "made up its mind" about the Fletcherian element in *HENRY VIII*, and the poverty of the rest.

But *littera scripta manet*. An editor of Shakespeare commits himself not merely to his endorsements of tradition, which tend to root him for life in orthodox positions, but to his endorsements of disintegration; and it is with a questionable propriety that Dr. Chambers sets out to combat disintegration as such. On the other hand, let us as in justice bound admit the truth of the second clause of his pronouncement: "not to praise him." Hardly can Dr. Chambers have known how truly he spoke: and it is to illustrate and vindicate that part of his claim as against the other that the present inquiry now turns. The critic who pronounces *RICHARD III* a masterpiece of the young Shakespeare is verily not praising him. But even the critic who, after disintegrating nine plays and casting a shadow on two more, "accepts" all the rest, is reduced to strange straits when he takes for granted Shakespeare's original authorship of certain plays which others have called in

question. The praise of Shakespeare becomes a truly difficult thing for the acceptors of the Folio.

III

To weigh the æsthetic criticism of Dr. Chambers through all his thirty-seven introductions is not a task to be thought of, even for the purpose of showing how abracadabral æsthetic criticism can be. And it is unnecessary. One sample may serve as well as twenty. To discuss Dr. Chambers's characterisation of Imogen as a "puppet" might add to the troubles of the pietists whom he latterly seeks to placate; but the issue there is hardly representative. One that may be fairly called representative, however, is raised by his introduction to ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL.

As to the authorship of the play he has no mis-giving. "A rather fantastic¹ desire to identify [it] with the LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON mentioned by Francis Meres," he announces, "is mainly responsible for the persistent attempt of many" [not otherwise aspersed] "scholars to trace in its occasional rhymed passages the survivals of an earlier and discarded version of the play. . . . There can be little doubt that the whole structure and handling of the play in its present form belong to the same and to a fairly advanced date in Shakespeare's development." The student should here be warned that Fleay, who strongly contended for an early origination of the play, c. 1592 (pointing to the passages I, i, 230-244; I, iii, 130-142; II, i, 130-214; II, iii, 80-110, 132-151; iii, iv, letter; v, iii, concluding part, as obviously early) at the same time opposed the identification of the play with LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON, giving what Dr. Chambers does not give, a reason, to wit, that the four allusions in the play to the present title are all in rhyming passages, and that some of them

¹ Every such theory seems to be "fantastic" for Dr. Chambers if he is not its inventor. His theory that the *Comedy of Errors* is the *Jealous Comedy* re-named is truly fantastic—but it is his own.

at least are early. Over that question we need not long delay—the less because Fleay marks as obviously "early" passages which are open to a very different labelling.

Fleay's proposition as a whole is untenable. The stressing of the *title* of a play in dialogue, as is done four times in ALL'S WELL (IV, iv, 35; V, i, 25; iii, 333; and Ep.) is not an early practice; and it really suggests a case in which an old play has been given a new title. In MEASURE FOR MEASURE (V, i, 416) a similar surmise is set up by the quite clumsy insistence on the title, which the play never justifies. It thus remains conceivable that ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL (a title applicable to a score of plays) is really a recast of an old play with another title,—quite possibly "Love's Labour's Won." But the original title is a matter of small moment. The first important issue is the fact that Dr. Chambers has no hesitation in ascribing the "structure and handling" of the wretched "foul-mouthed clown" scenes, I, iii, and II, ii, and of the vacuous episode of Parolles, to Shakespeare at the point in his development at which he was working on HAMLET. The Editor has certainly "come not to praise him."

These are among the outlying features of the position of "acceptance" when ALL'S WELL is taken as a play deliberately planned and drafted by Shakespeare. But it may be well to go at once to the central problem. Dr. Chambers, holding Shakespeare to have framed alike the Helena plot in ALL'S WELL and the Isabella plot in MEASURE FOR MEASURE, is committed to passing an æsthetic judgment on the play in terms of his assumption. And thus it is evolved. Helena is held to have been conceived as the critic (intoning the conventional litany) holds Hamlet to have been conceived, as a "noble" nature "made ineffective as a practical instrument for life, in Hamlet by very intellect," as "in Brutus by very idealism." Shakespeare, he thinks, sets out to "show noble womanhood made equally *ineffective* by the highest quality of womanhood

itself, which is love; by the imperious instinct of sex, which drives Helen through unworthy paths to a profitless goal." Here the "instinct of sex" is identified with "the highest quality of womanhood itself, which is love." To say nothing, for the moment, of that pleasing proposition in psychics and ethics, it would be difficult to frame a more inept analogy than that between the case of Hamlet, whose weird is framed *for* him, and that of Helena, who works her own dishonour by blindly following the "imperious instinct of sex" against all the other feminine instincts—such as, modesty—commonly held to be incomparably more imperious in every "noble woman." For, according to the critic, "certainly Helena is a noble woman"—the proof being, forsooth, that "she *impresses* every one with whom she comes into contact and who is competent to judge."¹ As if that device on the part of the dramatist could *make* her noble for us when she acts ignobly.

When "orthodox" criticism thus exhibits itself, it is necessary to point out how the profession of scrupulous method in the matter of assignment of authorship goes hand in hand with the most heedless guess-work in the ultimate tasks of literary judgment. "In Brutus and Hamlet," we are confidently assured, "Shakespeare had set side by side two tragic studies of *greatness failing to be greatness* through the excess or defect of certain qualities whose perfect balance is necessary to *efficiency*. It is *precisely* such another study that the fortunes of Helena, rightly read, reveal." So that, in the first instances, the failing of final *success* amounts to failing of *greatness*; and Cæsar therefore was not great, any more than Brutus. There must, one fancies, be many unpretending readers, not chargeable with even "pseudo" scholarship because making no pretence to any, who could point out to the editor that Hamlet *remains* great,

¹ The point was more judiciously put by Coleridge: "Indeed it must be confessed that [Helena's] character is not very delicate, and it required all Shakespeare's consummate skill to interest us for her; and he does this chiefly by the operation of the other characters—the Countess, Lafen, etc. We get to like Helen from their praising and commending her so much." *Table Talk*, July 1, 1833. Dr. Chambers has misused the passage in adopting it.

that Brutus remains as great as he ever was, and that success in prompt assassination of Claudius, which is for Dr. Chambers, as for so many more shibboleth-sayers, the proper business of Hamlet in which he deplorably fails, would have left us with no vision of greatness at all.

When such unhappy criticism as this of Dr. Chambers is the alternative presented by traditionism to the process of analysis by which the plots of many and the handling of much of the Shakespeare plays are to be traced to other hands, perhaps even the student who is perturbed by the cry of "disintegration" may be inclined to consider *that* alternative. He surely will be, in any case, when he follows up Dr. Chambers's notion of Shakespeare's plan and purpose in drafting the story of Helena. He need waste no time over the critic's contemptuous rebuttal of the pleasant account of Helena given by the amiable Mrs. Jameson. That is but an instance of the nugatory results attained by traditionist æsthetic criticism when it is wholly bent on idolatry of the text. Mrs. Jameson would have us feel that Helena hunting Bertram to bed is a superlatively "beautiful picture of a woman's love." That is distressing enough: but its gentle moonshine is less trying to the critical sense than Dr. Chambers's conception of the Master as supposing that he was framing a worthy companion piece to HAMLET by making a "noble woman" wilfully degrade herself. "Like all the difficult plays," the critic remarks in his chosen manner, "ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL was bound to mislead the more superficial commentators." It can have led few to a worse pass than that to which it has brought himself.

There are indeed few more futile sayings in the literature of comment than his query: "What is Parolles but the *more elaborate* portrait of the *same type* of human vanity which is represented by the thumb-nail sketch of Osric the water-fly." As who should say that Malvolio is an elaborate portrait of the same type of human vanity as is sketched in Bottom. These inexpensive gratuities

of æsthetic criticism—"everywhere strewed flowers of precept," as Chapman calls them, after producing many on his own account—seem likely to move not a few readers to ask the editor if he would kindly mind his own business of studying the anomalous aspects of the play in respect of differing styles and un-Shakespearean matter, and leave them to do their ultimate æsthetics for themselves. Futile æsthetic criticism, indeed, must not move us to ban æsthetic criticism as such; but the protests of past editors against "finger-post criticism" of the plays are well borne out by the divagations of the editor of the "Red Letter Shakespeare." He is visibly foredoomed to his results by his conviction that the way to know Shakespeare is to saddle him with the construction of every play he touched, save only where previous critics with an eye to internal evidence, and convinced by it to the contrary, have been numerous enough to bring the tradition into a measure of apparent discredit.

Here, he proceeds with the fatal confidence of the intuitionist in æsthetics. Helena, to begin with, "has fallen in love with a good-looking boy, as any other woman might,"—all women being in that respect alike. But "henceforward she dominates the play, and passes from dishonour to dishonour on the path to her final *victory*." And now comes the absolute stultification of the very formula which the critic has professed to apply. If Helena "dominates the play" to a "final victory," her "greatness" is proved by the critic's own test. It is a worthless test, but it is that of his own theorem, his standard of "efficiency." Hamlet and Brutus fail to carry out their tasks. She carries out hers. Is not *she* "efficient," by the theorist's own avowal? When a critic thus tramples on his own formulas, even our sense of his momentary loyalty to reason cannot cancel our vision of his incoherence; nor, when the performer is Dr. Chambers, can we fail to find it, as he would say, entertaining.

Bertram, we are truly if unnecessarily told, is finally proved "a cur and a liar." But Helena too, by the same

testimony, is "a liar" and—what else? She "lies," and "lies again"; and "then come more lies, growing easier and easier each time . . . But after all it is a poor prize for which she has trailed her honour in the dust." It is, indeed; and are we then to decide that Shakespeare absolutely *invented* all this as a companion picture to that of the Hamlet who was *given him by a prior play*, even by the admission of Dr. Chambers? Dr. Chambers will have it so. "Behind comedy so unsmiling as this some perturbation of the once sunny spirit must needs lie." The spasmodically intuitive critic, a neck-or-nothing speculator on his own account, feels he has grasped the Master's secret. Shakespeare had fallen into a mood in which he regarded that sorry picture of a "noble woman" playing the nymphomaniac as a thing worth inventing, to match Hamlet.

The full force of this conception is realised only when we remember that in this same period of "bitter comedy" (as Dr. Chambers labels it) "Shakespeare" in *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*, if he planned that, had made two other women trick another man, this time a cold scoundrel, in the same edifying fashion; and had further made Diana and Mariana quibble on the subject, in open court, in almost identical terms. We are to conceive the dramatist, on this view, as taking intellectual satisfaction in ascribing such potentialities to "noble women." Perhaps it will be granted that a critical method which thus ends in presenting the author of *OTHELLO* and *LEAR*, *MACBETH* and *CORIOLANUS*, as the persistent creator of moral monstrosities and artistic abortions for a space of time in which also he recast *HAMLET*, is open to challenge; and that it is really worth while to consider a method which is content to trace the Master by his style, and to reach a final vision of him, if at all, only when his real work is made fairly sure of, by a more scientific procedure than the blind "acceptance," as wholly his, of a collection of plays in which even the champion of acceptance finds nigh a dozen that have alien matter in them.

The answer of the traditionist critic, of course, is known in advance. We must not presume, he will tell us, to pronounce a play or a scene or a speech or a character "non-Shakespearean" because to our "sentimental" taste it is "un-Shakespearean." And to that simple estoppel, in this case, our rejoinder is: "By what right then do you eliminate from *PERICLES* and *TIMON* whole sections which happen to clash with *your* sentimental taste? You tell the so-called disintegrator that 'he looks for a Shakespeare always at the top of his achievement.'¹ What then are you doing when you insist that parts of those plays are too poor to be Shakespeare's work? Having agreed, on the strength of your empirical intuition, to 'accept' *PERICLES*, which is not in the *Folio*, by what right do you proceed to disintegrate it?"

The fact is that Dr. Chambers, with a pretension to scientific rigour which no editor has rivalled, is the most primitively arbitrary of all editors in his resort to blank dogmatism for the solution of disputed cases; and his reduction of the business of debate to the formula, "Heads, I win; tails, you lose," is quite too primitive to prevail. We all, at need, dismiss certain dicta as "sentimental"; but even that verdict may be open like another to challenge. It was sentiment, was it not, that moved Hamlet to dislike his mother's marriage with Claudius? There is even a primary sentiment in our cognition of Iago as a villain. "Villain" is not a term of judicial or purely ratiocinative procedure. These are cases in which sentiment, instead of being an irrelevant factor (which is what we mean when we *correctly* veto a judgment as "sentimental"), is of the essence of our attitude. And, when all is said, it is just sentiment that moves Dr. Chambers to the verdict that the devices of Helena dishonour her. If he were only a little more capable of analysing his critical processes, and a little less dependent on expletives, he would not have penned, in his introduction to *ALL'S WELL*, that suicidal remark on "the substitution incident,

¹ Academy Lecture, p. 10.

which, in this play as in *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*, proves a difficult morsel for the sentimental reader." He is himself, in this case, and perforce, "the sentimental reader" of his aggressive formula. *He* cannot swallow the morsel which Mrs. Jameson makes-believe she can. It is precisely in terms of his sentiment of revolt that he declares Helena to have degraded herself. Even his own verbalisms cannot here blind him, though he must write "sentimental" from force of objurgatory habit.

When, however, he has thus passed a licit judgment in terms of "sentiment" where sentiment is the true test, ~~he~~ goes on to pass another in terms of sentiment, where sentiment has no proper standing whatever. The critic's procedure is this:—

1. This plot repels right feeling. The sentimentalists say so; but I say so also.

2. But it is planned by Shakespeare; and Shakespeare has hitherto shown himself exceptionally right in feeling.

3. Then, to permit of his writing this play, his "once sunny spirit" must have become embittered; and this offensive plot is part of the revelation of an embitterment exhibited in other plays.

Now, sentiment fitly pronounces judgment on the offensiveness of a plot; but sentiment knows nothing whatever of authorship; and, even if authorship be held proved, it cannot divine an author's motives for framing a repellent plot. There is open, here, an alternative inference as to authorship, which, drawn, reduces to nullity Dr. Chambers's sentimental verdict. It is he, in this case, who has been "sentimental" in the vicious sense, inasmuch as he proceeds upon sentiment where it is beside the case. So much will appear when *ALL'S WELL* is analysed both as to sentiment and as to literary construction.

Meantime, it is important to keep in view the result thus far reached, namely, that after we have really

studied all the technical data upon which a judgment of authorship must rest, it is *finally* our "sentiment" that must settle for us the form and content of our critical estimate of Shakespeare as a man and as a dramatist. And the critical situation, as between "orthodoxy" and the still active "disintegrators" of Dr. Chambers's natural aversion (for are they not partly undermining his editorial status?) is this: that they, finding the "offensive" structural work in the plays—that is, not the mere indecencies, which belong to Elizabethan manners, but—the exhibition of utterly repellent action as if it were sympathetic, to be always associated with features of style, diction, or versification, which insistently point to other hands than Shakespeare's, proceed to call for a rigorous scrutiny of all the data. When, for instance, they read Hamlet's "I'll lug the guts into the neighbour room," they ask themselves whether this is not part of the diction of the old play which practically all the editors, including Dr. Chambers, admit to underlie the existing one; and when they find in 3 HENRY VI the line (v, vi, 92):—

I'll throw thy body in another room,

which is but a slight modification of the line in RICHARD DUKE OF YORK, a play by pre-Shakespearean hands, they are strengthened in their suspicion that the brutal words first cited are not of Shakespeare's writing.

And, howsoever Dr. Chambers may fulminate for his own nervous relief, they are not sentimentalising. It is he who resorts to sentiment where it has no critical status. *They* are conducting a difficult critical inquiry which the "Red Letter" editor ought to carry on but does not. Not for a moment do they pretend that their and his sentiment about Helena proves that Shakespeare had no hand in portraying her. On the contrary, they find his hand pretty plainly in some of her lines—almost as plainly as they find it absent in the bulk of the matter in the HENRY VI trilogy over which Dr. Chambers is alternately so forcible and so feeble. Much more plainly do they find Shakespeare's hand in many of the lines

of Isabella, whose procedure is only less jarring than Helena's to our sentiment about "noble women." That is not the question at issue. The issue is, whether we do not also find in the plays which present Helena and Isabella a quantity of verse and prose which is *not* from the hand of Shakespeare, and which thus sets up the critical surmise that in those plays he was but adapting other men's work so far as he could, leaving in each case a repulsive plot as it stood, simply because that plot was the spine of the structure, and to excise it would be to cancel the play. The "disintegrator's" task, in short, is to realise quite coldly, quite judiciously, *what has happened* in the framing of the play, and to make an end of the paralysing procedure of assuming Shakespeare to have planned every play which he handles. That procedure has been the fruitful source of more Ptolemaic shibboleths, more abracadabras, more nugatory pseudo-scientific generalisations, than have cumbered any other field in all the literature of criticism. Dr. Chambers's introductions are among the proofs.

The task of ascertaining what has really happened in the making of a given play, once more, is one to be carried on in a strictly critical fashion, with no resort to those declamatory devices which Dr. Chambers found indispensable to the fulfilment of his editorial functions. We are to ascertain all the characteristics of Shakespeare's genuine writing, as deducible from his unquestioned work of all periods; and when we find alongside of his work in a given play verse and prose which are demonstrably not at all in his manner, it is our business to try to discover, next, whose work has thus intervened, and, thirdly, whether the intervening hand preceded or followed the work of Shakespeare on the play in question. Only after all this has been done are we in a position to set about that subtler task which the "Red Letter" editor so light-heartedly and with such assurance undertakes over every play, without a move towards the "grammatical and stylistic analysis" which he prescribes—the task of divining the attitude of the man Shakespeare to the matter before us. *That* flight of

speculation is to be essayed by sound criticism only after the most searching study of the phenomena on which traditionism dogmatizes, "standing on one foot."

But lest the reader should thus far be less than satisfied as to the fatality of the method of "acceptance" and the futility of the æsthetic criticism thence resulting, it may be well to examine another representative instance of the procedure assailed. Dr. Chambers can certainly claim to be countenanced in his methods by critics of high academic standing; and to a careful critical performance by one of the most distinguished and experienced of these the attention of the inquirer is next invited. It should serve to convince any open-minded student that the attitude of automatic "acceptance" is more destructive of critical efficiency than even reckless scepticism could easily be.

IV

Professor C. H. Herford, like Dr. Chambers, has given hostages to fortune by editing the Shakespeare plays, committing himself to more or less "safe" pronouncements on everything, and thus guarding against future temptation to new ideas. In his case also a counter-critical campaign on a large scale is unnecessary, because he has furnished us with a separate and distinct distillation of orthodox æsthetics in his essay (1921) on SHAKESPEARE'S TREATMENT OF LOVE AND MARRIAGE, which in itself serves to bring the orthodox position to critical wreck. In the first paragraph of that essay, indeed, Dr. Herford seems to leave small room for Dr. Chambers's compartment of "bitter" and "unsmiling" comedy. For the orthodox also have that unfortunate habit of divergence which, when exhibited by "disintegrators," suffices Dr. Chambers as an "entertaining" dispensation from any study of their propositions. Indeed, Dr. Herford, a scholar of temperate diction and reflective habit, is somewhat unpropitious to Dr.

Chambers's sense of certitude in æsthetic judgment in general. His essays, he explains,

"are all occupied ultimately with some aspect of a single problem in what I would call the psychology of poetic experience, did not the phrase imply a scientific rigour hardly as yet achieved, in this region, by psychological science itself, and in any case beyond the reach of the present writer."

Nonetheless, Dr. Herford is satisfied, like Dr. Chambers, that he can broadly divine Shakespeare's outlook on life, not merely from the utterances of his characters, but from his choice of subjects. And this position, fallaciously speculative at best, is handled with a laxity which, on the part of an accomplished and gifted scholar, goes far to suggest that the very habit of mind set up by the "acceptance" of the Folio is essentially anti-critical. When, for instance, the Professor tells us that Shakespeare "rather conspicuously avoids, *save for special dramatic purposes*, irregular, illicit, or criminal passion," one is spontaneously moved to ask what the writer means by the phrase above italicised. What is a "special dramatic purpose"? Are there purposes which are not special? After much trying, I can attach to the sentence no further natural meaning than that Shakespeare does not handle the themes specified save when he is making them prominent; and that natural interpretation is ruled out (p. 26) by the description of the passion of Goneril and Regan for Edmund as an "episodic incident." But when either proposition is considered, and the "rather conspicuously avoids" is weighed, it is impossible to account for the assertion. "Shakespeare" presents "irregular and illicit passion" not only in his two signed poems, written of his own choice and published before any of the plays, but in the persons of Antony and Cleopatra, Regan and Goneril, Tamora and Aaron, Cressida, Cloten, Claudius, Bianca, Bertram, and Angelo, to say nothing of Falstaff in the WIVES, or of episodes in the GENTLEMEN and the ERRORS which for "disintegrators" are suspect, but which presumably count for Dr. Herford.

for whom TITUS is a plant in the "chosen field" of accepted plots. How then are we to explain his assertion? If special purpose arises in the case of at least twelve personages in ten plays, what are non-special purposes? Why say "special *dramatic* purpose" when the two poems stare us in the face? If the Professor had said that the dramatist rather conspicuously avoids piety and avarice (Shylock being his only miser) and religious fanaticism, the statement could pass; but still we should be far from having a ground for any further induction than that the dramatist did not happen to have seen in these topics good matter for the stage. For he still *might* see it if an effective play on such subjects were brought before him.

By his own prefatory account, the Professor wishes to trace in his essay the effects of Shakespeare's "bias for *normality* in a single sphere of his art—his treatment of Love and Marriage." Taken by itself, though the italicised term is far from fortunate, this might suggest that Shakespeare, like most people, would personally prefer to have the course of love and marriage run smooth, which would amount to saying nothing; but the subsequent sentence, before cited, goes much further, and, as we have seen, fares much worse. Is it to be pretended that the fortunes of love and marriage in ROMEO AND JULIET, OTHELLO, LEAR, TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, MUCH ADO, ALL'S WELL, HAMLET, THE WINTER'S TALE, RICHARD III (which Dr. Herford reckons Shakespeare's), MEASURE FOR MEASURE, and CYMBELINE, are *normal*?

Left thus bewildered by the preface, we turn to the essay for the elucidation. There we get the preliminary pronouncement that

The Shakespearean world is impressed, *as a whole*, with an unmistakable joy in healthy living. This tells habitually as a pervading spirit, a contagious temper, not as a creed put forward, or an example set up. It is as clear in the presentment of Falstaff or Iago, as of *Horatio*¹ or Imogen. For here Shakespeare's preferences and repugnances are *unusually transparent*; what pleased

¹ If of Horatio, why not of Lear and Antonio and Timon?

him in the ways of lovers and wedded folks he drew again and again, and what *repelled* him he rarely and *only for special reasons* drew at all. Criminal love, of any kind, holds a quite *subordinate* place in his art. . . . It is thus possible to lay down a Shakespearean *norm* or ideal-type of love relations.

Here again we have the cryptic stress on "special reasons," just after it had been explained that Shakespeare frequently drew what pleased him, for *that* special reason. And as the essay develops, the Professor, coming to deal with the plays in detail, is perforce landed in flat self-contradiction. On page 26 we have the declaration that

The young Shakespeare, as is well known [!], showed a marked leaning to two apparently incongruous kinds of dramatic device—paradox and symmetry. In the riotous consciousness of power, he *loved to take up the challenge of outrageous situations*, to set himself dramaturgical problems, which he solves by compelling us to admit that *the impossible* might have happened in the way he shows. A shrew to be 'tamed' into a model wife. A widow following her murdered father's coffin, to be wooed, there and then, and won, by his murderer. A girl of humble birth, in love with a young noble who scorns her, to set herself, notwithstanding, to win him, and to succeed. Paradoxical feats like these were *foreign to the profound normality*—under whatever romantic disguise—of Shakespeare's *mature* art.

This when Helena and Isabella are declared to belong to the HAMLET period, and the WINTER'S TALE and CYMBELINE are yet to come. The bias to normality—the professed thesis of the essay—is now openly doubled with a bias to "the outrageous." As if that placid coupling of contradictions were not enough, we have in addition these internecine propositions:—

It is plain that Shakespeare has sounded only a few notes of the gamut of love poetry. He gives us a few exquisite simple melodies; he rarely hints its complex music, *the difficult harmonies extorted from dissonance and conflict*. (p. 11.)

The blindness of Claudio, of Othello, of Posthumus, of Leontes, is provoked by circumstances of very various cogency, but in each case it wrecks a love relation in which we are allowed to see no flaw. [!] The situation of innocent, slandered, heart-stricken womanhood *clearly appealed strongly to him*, and AGAINST HIS WONT he *repeated it AGAIN AND AGAIN*. (pp. 22-23.)

It is in imagining souls of texture fine and pure enough to be

wrought upon to the most piteous extreme by *slander from the man they love*, that Shakespeare found most of his loveliest and most authentically Shakespearean characters of woman. (p. 23.)

His conception of love itself was still, at the opening of his career, relatively slight and superficial. (p. 25.)

If Shakespeare had not yet [when writing *ROMEO AND JULIET*] fathomed the depths of human misery, he understood completely the exaltation of passion. (*Same page.*)

It is not for the antipathetic critic to profess to understand exactly how a ripe and thoughtful scholar can come to such a strange pass of reiterative self-contradiction; but it is not hard to see the false principle of which the application yields such fruits. Professor Herford, speculating at haphazard, thinks he knows Shakespeare's idiosyncrasy in terms of his "choice" of themes. Certain forms of play-motive, he assures us (p. 19), lie "outside Shakespeare's *chosen field*"; and in the extremity of his ill-grounded confidence he tells us (p. 26) that "even Heywood's erring wife, whom her husband elects to 'kill with kindness,'" is "definitely un-Shakespearean." Whereupon we must emphatically comment that Professor Herford is not merely professing a knowledge which he cannot have, but professing it in defiance of knowledge which he has. He cannot help showing that he realises the unfitness of the plots of *Helena* and *Isabella* to be "chosen" for "Shakespeare's field"; though when he edited *TITUS ANDRONICUS* he found in it enough of Shakespeare to make him treat it as a play by him adapted. And it is only the constraint of all the arbitrary presuppositions of traditionism that can prevent such a skilled critic from seeing and avowing that from first to last Shakespeare takes up *any* play-plot of even semi-tolerable fitness that comes in his way; and that if Heywood's play *had* come to his company in a condition in which it needed adaptation for its purposes, or could in his opinion be made better by partial re-writing, he would at least as readily have handled it as he did *TIMON* or *ALL'S WELL* or *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*.

He had, in fact, *no* "chosen field" in Dr. Herford's sense. He assuredly knew, more quickly than any of us can, what were "good" and what were less good plots and situations; but just as certainly he took up plots and situations of both kinds. We may indeed reasonably say that he probably enjoyed writing on some themes much more than on others; that he was happier over the *WINTER'S TALE* than over *CYMBELINE*, over *OTHELLO* and *HAMLET* than over *TIMON*: the writing is there to tell as much. But that he would have *refused* (as Dr. Herford implies) such new plots as were shaped by Fletcher and Heywood, and this because of his "bias to normality," is a proposition utterly unwarranted by the total aspect of the Folio. The "normality" thesis is an airy nothing, puffed away by its framer.

Thus we find the "orthodox" school, in the case of Professor Herford no less than in that of Dr. Chambers, anchored not to facts but to theories which it has reached without any factual basis. It is defying, not "accepting," the plain facts of the documentary record. Professing to frown upon "speculation," it speculates without eyes for the plainest facts. Playing for "safety," it commits critical suicide. We have Dr. Herford describing Shakespeare as shunning the theme of illicit passion, when it is from themes of illicit passion that he starts; crediting him at once with a strong bias to normality and a stronger bias to abnormality; declaring that "against his wont" he does certain things many times over; calling a bias always obvious and often "unusually transparent"; assigning to him a love of the outrageous and an aversion from the theme of Heywood's best play. Whatever errors may be committed in the attempt to apply a logical method, it cannot well lead to worse delusions or emptier propositions than these. We want to know how Shakespeare came to handle such themes as those of *ALL'S WELL* and *MEASURE FOR MEASURE* and *TIMON*, and how and how far he handled them. From Dr. Chambers and Dr. Herford we get Ptolemaic fantasies, which shrivel at the first scrutiny.

And we are the better entitled to dismiss the procedure of Dr. Herford when we find him, in the latest and most considerate of his writings on the Shakespeare problem, singling out as a critical error a procedure that is really his own in the essay we have just been examining. "Brandes's foible," he writes, "is to discover too constantly not merely the sap of Shakespeare's vitality but the accent of his voice, the echo of his personal joys and sorrows."¹ Over the task of weighing many examples of modern æsthetic criticism, it may have occurred to Dr. Herford that Brandes might very well reply with the challenge: "On what principle, then, do you permit yourself to decide that you know Shakespeare's attitude towards other men's plots from his handling of those actually taken up by him or submitted to him—especially when you ascribe to him two opposite forms of bias *which cover all plot possibilities?*"

It is too much, indeed, to expect that any of our Shakespeare editors will ever bring himself to confess the error of their ways in general. Dr. Herford, after gingerly admitting the "insecurity" of Signor Croce's self-destroying position as to the unimportance of distinguishing between the genuine and the ungenuine in Shakespeare, is inconsequent enough to add that only those of us who hold "iconoclastic views about the canon will think the 'insecurity' of much account."² It is chastening to find a ripe Shakespearean thus playing fast and loose with the most vital of all Shakespearean problems. The "insecurity" thus made light of is really a collapse of Signor Croce's main position. But at least the veteran Professor has committed himself to the avowal that criticism of style "provides the most powerful criterion we have for distinguishing the work of Shakespeare himself from the work of others." And when he further commits himself to the verdict³ that "if anything is clear about Shakespeare's art it is that it is the product of a mind conspicuously sane and

¹ *A Sketch of Recent Shakespearean Investigation*, 1923, p. 30.

² *Sketch* cited, p. 46.

³ *Id.*, p. 29.

sound," he has put an awkward obstacle to the abracadabral activities of Dr. Chambers. Iconolatry, it is becoming clear, has its troubles all before it.

Indeed, when Dr. Chambers, after disintegrating TIMON and PERICLES on the sole warrant of his suddenly functioning sense of style-differences, is moved by further developments to protest that we must not let ourselves suppose Shakespeare to write always recognisably or well, the troubles of the cult may be said to be in full swing. But of course it needed not this to reveal to us that, like the condemned Fleay, the Aristarch reaches different results in different moods. For all men who set mood above method, this is the "entertaining" penalty.

II

"ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL"

I. THE GENERAL PROBLEM

In terms of one formula, as we have just seen, *ALL'S WELL* might be held to belong to Shakespeare's "chosen field," inasmuch as it turns on a plot-device which is also employed in *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*; but whether the choice is to be held as determined by the dramatist's alleged predominant bias to "normality" or his alleged predominant bias to "the outrageous" is not clear, and is perhaps not greatly worth clearing up. In terms of the rival formula before contemplated, Shakespeare was in this play swayed by yet a third bias, to wit, a temporary pessimistic proclivity to exhibit "greatness failing of greatness" through lack of "efficiency"—a proclivity declared to have been gratified in this case by making a "noble woman" behave ignobly but with marked efficiency, completely attaining her end. It may be found refreshing to turn aside from all the Ptolemaic constructions in question to contemplate the play in a naturalistic fashion. And, to be quite natural, we may fitly begin by calling *ALL'S WELL* what it really is, a Bad Play.

To say this, of course, is not to say that the piece was likely to be a failure on the contemporary stage. The scenes of the exposure of Parolles and of Bertram were probably successful with many audiences. Plays which now make hopelessly bad literature—plays such as *MUCEDORUS* and *TITUS ANDRONICUS*—had long runs and frequent reprints in Shakespeare's day. But at a time when there is a demoralised tendency on the traditionist side to conceive him as striving for nonu-

larity by the cheapest devices of plagiarism, it is necessary to reassert that his significance for the world has lain in work of a marked superiority to the arts and effects of the ordinary playwright; and that as a Scribe or even as a Dumas he would never have set up the discussion which surrounds his name. Criticism asks, not whether ALL'S WELL was fitted to draw audiences in the day of James, but whether it can be the work of the dramatist whom we have been accepting as the Master Poet of the Theatre. Let compromisers argue as they will for the conception of him as a popular play-maker, his ultimate critical status is as a maker of literature; and it is as bad literature, as a Bad Play from the standpoint of world literature, that ALL'S WELL must primarily be impugned. And the keen thrust at the popular taste in Hamlet's counsel to the players might be held to hint that Shakespeare would assent.

If Shakespeare drafted the piece, his "once sunny spirit" was affected by something worse than a sentimental bias. It was for the time incapable not only (a) of good dialogue, (b) of good rhymed work, and (c) of blank verse generally approximating to the quality of the medium work in HAMLET, but even (d) of perceiving the artistic inanity of a long irrelevant "funny" episode in the taste and manner of Chapman. Critics anchored to the Imitation Theory will doubtless hasten to explain that he was simply suffering from a recrudescence of his malady of helpless repetition of the manner and matter of his inferiors. But that fourth "mumpsimus" also may fitly be ignored until we realise exactly what the play amounts to.

And first as to Parolles. Attempts have been made to show that that figure is a caricature of some contemporary.¹ And that it may have been.² But it is

¹ Fleay thought it represented Marston: *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 218.

² If *personal* caricature it be, so much the more unworthy would it be for Shakespeare. Chapman, on the other hand, in the prose preamble to his *Justification of Perseus and Andromeda*, protests that he could never be accused "for a Satirist or Libeller to play with worthy men's reputations," which leaves it to be inferred that he *might* do so with those of unworthy men.

not easily to be regarded as a good caricature of anybody; and if it were, it would remain for us what it is as a *dramatis persona*, to wit, a personage arbitrarily imposed on the play as it stands, first, as a fribble, to make poor talk, and later as a "guy," to be superfluously humiliated.

Something remotely like this, in play construction, Shakespeare may be said to have done in *As You Like It*, where Touchstone and Audrey take the stage a good deal, while the play-action placidly stands still. It was all, indeed, in the Elizabethan way. But in *As You Like It* Touchstone attaches to the action very much as Falstaff does in *HENRY IV*; and there is the great difference that while Touchstone and Falstaff are worth our while, Parolles emphatically is not. He has really nothing to do with the plot. Compromisers, quoting the Countess and Lafeu and Diana and Mariana,¹ have gone so far as to claim that he is dramatically made responsible for the *canaileries* of Bertram; but that is plainly idle. Bertram, as the play stands, is visibly self-inspired; and the wretched Parolles is even exhibited as trying to circumvent him in seduction. The whole episode of the drum and the concomitant humiliation is visibly introduced for its own sake; and poor stuff it is, delaying the real action to no constructive purpose. The use made of Parolles as a witness in the dénouement scene is wholly factitious, and could be dropped without loss to the action. And if it be pleaded that the badness of the main action called for a "comic relief," the answer must be that such a relief as this merely doubles the display of bad dramatic taste, crude artistry, and bad judgment. This is, in short, a worse play than *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*, out-going that in the offensiveness of the use of the central device, and lacking alike the great poetry which Shakespeare has imposed on the other and the dramatic force of its main action up to the final exposure.

¹ The number of these declarations suggests a wish on *somebody's* part to justify the pervading presence of Parolles in the play; and we may well suppose that Shakespeare saw the need. But never once is Parolles *shown* to be anything but a burr on Bertram's sleeve.

II. DIAGNOSIS

The lack of Shakespearean inspiration, and the slightness of the Shakespearean revision, are visible from the first scene onwards. The opening section, sententious and often stilted in its prose diction, passes at line 70 into a blank verse of similar pitch, notable for an echo of Polonius' counsel to Laertes, a fashion set in the pre-Shakespearean period by EUPHUES, and then copied by Greene in several tales as well as in JAMES IV. But the diction of the scene may be well enough dated about 1604; and the verse of Helena's soliloquy (90-109) may be held to indicate at least revision by Shakespeare, though only a line or two suggests his poetry, and the "I think not on my father" chimes unpleasantly with the Countess's previous hard chiding¹ and Helena's ambiguous reply. It is with the entry of Parolles that we are quite certain of a hand that cannot be his. The lines of Helena:—

One that goes with him : I love him for his sake ;
 And yet I know him a notorious liar,
 Think him a great way fool, solely a coward ;
 Yet these fix'd evils sit so fit in him,
 That they take place, when virtue's steely bones
 Look bleak i' the cold wind : withal, full oft we see
 Cold wisdom waiting on superfluous folly,

have neither his rhythm nor his moral feeling, neither his diction nor his judgment. And the ensuing prose dialogue is no worthier of him. Dr. Chambers finds that Helena shows her intellectual power by playing with the equivocal conversation of Parolles "as if he were a child, while her mind is set on other things." But in point of fact she stirs him to his expatiation with her "Man is enemy to virginity; how may we barricado it against him?" just as the Countess in the clown scenes draws on the correlative expatiation of these. The feebleness of the dialogue is no more Shake-

¹ "Hellish obstinacy" in scene iii (186) reads strangely as Shakespeare's. For Chapman, it is normal.

spearean than the purport. Already there are apparent verbal clues¹ to one hand at work; and when we come to collate them we shall be far on our way to a solution. Meantime, we are thus far landed in an inferior sample of the Elizabethan "comedy of talk," in which much talk means no action, and little wit to justify the detention. Helena's return to blank-verse (179) reveals a "cut" and apparently a dislocation; and still the blank-verse and the diction are quite un-Shakespearean; while of the seven couplets which close the scene only the first two can readily be assigned to him.

Over this passage rises one of the discussions as to the presence of "early matter." But while it is incongruous in manner with the verse and prose that have preceded, and has plain affinities with some pre-Shakespearean verse, it is hard to see why either its movement or its matter should be reckoned to tell of the young Shakespeare. The lines:—

What power is it which mounts my love so high
That makes me see and cannot feed mine eye?

recall several of Greene's and some in EDWARD III which are reasonably to be assigned to him²:—

Now in the sun alone it doth not lie
With light to take light from a mortal eye:
For here two day-stars that mine eyes would see
More than the sun, steals mine own light from me.

EDWARD III, I, ii, 131-34.

Even the "bright particular star" points to a tag of Greene's,³ though not to his versification. Still more does Helena's rhymed letter, read to the Countess by the Steward in Act III, scene iv, suggest a Greenean origin, so little has it of the diction or the manner of either Shakespeare or Chapman. This, if nothing else in the play, is "early" in every respect. Only the fact that it is in the sonnet form adopted by Shakespeare

¹ *E.g.* the verb 'barricado,' not found elsewhere in the Folio, but used by Chapman. In the reply, as we shall see, there are further Chapmanisms.

² *Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon*, p. 344.

³ See *The Shakespeare Canon*, Part II, p. 29.

can give any colour for the belief that its old-fashioned diction was his at any period; and the verdict of Dr. Chambers, to the effect that with all the rest of the play it belongs to a "fairly advanced" point in Shakespeare's development, should warn the student to pay small heed to such sweeping oracles. To decide as to who wrote it is no easy matter; but if we apply even the simple intuitional test elsewhere relied on by Dr. Chambers, it is assuredly not penned by Shakespeare at any period.

If we proceed considerately, we shall recognise that Parolles might conceivably have been a figure in a primary comedy, where he may formally have played the part ascribed to him by the Countess, Lafeu, Mariana, and Diana, of tempter to Bertram. He would thus be a companion type to Ateukin in Greene's JAMES IV. There, as here, the personage alleged to be tempted is spontaneously vicious, and antipathetic to us in grain; so that the tempter is in each case superfluous save as furnishing a whipping-boy for the blackguard hero, who is to be forgiven. Such a situation might set a reviser upon the course of developing the supererogatory villain into a "guy"; but by that course he ceases to be a plot-factor such as he is repeatedly represented to be. If this construction or re-construction be Shakespeare's, he achieved it in a period of (for him) flat incompetence.

As we shall find the vocabulary and phraseology of Parolles in the drum episode highly reminiscent of Chapman, that may be taken as "late." But though the proof that the play is not Shakespeare's does not stand or fall with the theory of a previous piece, the apparent traces of Greene, though but scattered, are so frequent that they are not fitly to be ignored. That mutilated speech of Helena, so alien alike to the character and to Shakespeare, seems more likely to be of Greene's primary drafting than of Chapman's. When we find Parolles calling the clown "A good knave, i' faith, and well fed," we recall Greene's twice-used tag, "My well nutrimented knave" (ORLANDO, l. 344; SELIMUS, l. 1979), and suspect either a survival from his pen or an

adaptation by Chapman from his draft; though Helena's soliloquy (III, ii, 102) over Bertram's letter suggests rather an early revision of Greene by Shakespeare; and some of Diana's dialogue might be Greene's with very little alteration.

It is worth noting, in this connection, that "scarre" (IV, ii, 38), one of the words occurring only in this play in the Folio, regarded by some commentators as part of the contextual corruption, and not otherwise assignable, is actually used by Greene.¹ And though the un-Shakespearean "for to" (v, iii, 181) is but a doubtful clue, since Chapman uses that idiom in the BLIND BEGGAR, and the double-endings in the context seem late, it still hints of Greene as primary draftsman, seeing that the "for to" form occurs in no later signed work of Chapman's. "Braid," too, non-assignable to Chapman, recalls the Scottish vocabulary of Greene; as does "mell" (IV, iii, 257). "Holy-cruel," too (l. 32), suggests his "holy-wise and too precise" in JAMES IV.

That there *was* an early form of the play has been repeatedly surmised, from Tieck and Coleridge² onward; and Fleay held to the view strongly. Dr. Chambers, as we have seen, flouts any such hypothesis; and in the form in which it is advanced by Coleridge and Grant White and Fleay—that of an early play *by* Shakespeare, revised by him in maturity—it will indeed not bear scrutiny. The piece, to begin with, is too ill conceived as a whole, and too inferior in detail, to be intelligible as planned by him at any period; the diction and versification are in the main alien to him; and what in it is recognisable as his handiwork tells of no purpose of

¹ *James IV*, ll. 959, 2187, Malone Soc. rep.; Dyce's Greene and Peele, pp. 199b, 215b. The spelling in the first instance is *scarre*, in the second, *scar*, and the word has the force of "trouble" or confusion. Long ago I framed the emendation "may cope's" (=cope us, grapple with us, hustle us) for "make ropes," only to find that it had been anticipated by Halliwell-Phillipps. But the passage remains doubtful: and it should be noted that in Chapman's *May-Day* (II, 216) there is an analogy for "ropes." *Æmilia*, hustled, *not* unwillingly, by her cousin into a meeting with Aurelio, says: "O sir, you men have not devices with ladders of ropes to scale such walls at your pleasure and abuse us poor wenches." This gives a possible Chapman clue for the corrupt passage in *All's Well*.

² The statement as to Coleridge comes from Collier, cited by Verplanck. See White's *Introd.* to the play in his ed., vol. V, 9.

carefully reshaping a poor performance. Above all, the rhymed work in which White and Fleay see an "early" quality is not at all in Shakespeare's early rhyme-manner. The rhymed verse in the *DREAM* is utterly limpid, seeking its charm in pellucid poetic phrase: this is sententious, cryptic, and involved. If, as the good phrasing suggests, Shakespeare wrote:

Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie,
Which we ascribe to heaven,

it was, conceivably, by way of subtly countering the sentiment put in Helena's mouth later (II, i, 154-5) by another and an unsubtle hand:

But most it is presumption in us when
The help of heaven we count the act of men—

a sentiment further harped-on in Lafeu's speech, so incongruously addressed to Parolles (II, iii, 1):—

They say miracles are past; and we have our philosophical¹ persons, to make modern and familiar, things supernatural and causeless.² Hence it is that we make trifles of terrors, ensconcing ourselves into seeming knowledge, when we should submit ourselves to unknown fear.

This is in substance as like Chapman as is the trifling dialogue which follows.

In his *MASK OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE* there is a fling at the Copernicans:

According to our rare men of wit, heaven standing and earth moving;

and the wounded Strozza in the *USHER* (IV, iii, 43-44) announces that:

My free submission to the hand of heaven
Makes it redeem me from the rage of pain.

But he would be a bold *àpriorist* who should confidently declare that both positions, the naturalist and the supernaturalist, could not be taken up by Chapman, who in one and the same year published *THE WIDOW'S TEARS*

¹ This word occurs only here in the whole Folio. It is common in Chapman.

² Also a Chapman word.

and the HYMN TO CHRIST ON THE CROSS, with the SEVEN PENITENTIAL PSALMS.

What may be reasonably insisted on is that the idly dragging dialogue between Lafeu and Parolles, in which the veteran courtier prattles inanely on the plane of the fribble whom he despises, cannot be of Shakespeare's penning, early or late. It is neither bitter comedy nor sweet comedy, but a feeble assay at the irrelevant realism of idle dialogue in which Chapman so industriously dabbles in the USHER and D'OLIVE and GOOSECAP. And as Shakespeare cannot be supposed—save on the most desperate resort to the Imitation Theory—to have grafted that patter upon Lafeu's ambitious preamble, and cannot be supposed to have written "Lustig, as the Dutchman says," whether in a spirit of "bitter comedy" or any other, neither can he be supposed to have penned the preamble to atone for the patter. If he meddled at all in this linsey-woolsey web it was, as aforesaid, to make Helena contradict the oracles of the other reviser or draftsman.

Returning to the earlier evolution, we note in the second scene a monotonous Chapmanesque versification, with five double-endings in the first ten lines; with further resort to Chapman's device of quotations from a discussed personage, and to his common theme: "Mere fathers of their garments."¹ Revision of this verse there may have been: Shakespeare must have said *sufflaminandum est* over almost any harangue of Chapman, whose torrential vocabulary and faculty for distortion of phrase were constant snares to his art, alike in drama and in poetry. Revision may be partly responsible for the lines:²—

So like a courtier, contempt nor bitterness
Were in his pride, or sharpness: if they were,
His equal had awaked them, and his honour
Clock to itself, knew the true minute when
Exception bid him speak;

but the warp of the whole speech is pure Chapman.

¹ Which recurs, II, v, 48: "the soul of this man is his clothes." The idea is obtruded many times in Chapman.

² The first of those following is obelised in the Globe edition as corrupt. If the editors were handling Chapman, they would have had to pronounce it normal.

When we turn to scene iii, the difficulty is to conceive even Chapman, near 1600, penning the "relief" scene in which the Countess turns from her steward to evoke and endure the amenities of the clown whom she fitly describes as "foul-mouthed." The clown's theme of "horns" is a blossom of Chapman's "chosen field"¹ (see *ALL FOOLS*, end), and was no doubt popular. But thus to hold up the play, at this early stage, for the delectation of the groundlings, is so perverse-seeming a procedure that we are led to question whether this particular clown was not already an established stage figure.² In the second Act, scene ii, he recurs, the Countess again obligingly leading him into *his* chosen field. It seems reasonable to ask ourselves whether we can believe that the reviser of *HAMLET*, bent on "bitter comedy," spent his time over this particular dramatic ineptitude. A scene was structurally required, at this point, to suggest lapse of time between even the application of Helena's miraculous prescription for fistula and the King's recovery; but it would be hard to find in all the heedless vamping of the Elizabethan stage a weaker constructive expedient than this.³ That the clown had right of way seems the only solution; and this inference supports the theory of an early form of the play, perhaps under the title of *LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON*, given in Meres's list of 1598 as the name of a comedy of Shakespeare's, and never satisfactorily accounted for as an alternative name for any of the earlier comedies.⁴ As we shall see, there is even reason

¹ That is, in terms of the Ptolemaic method. It is fitting to say, however, that while Chapman seems to have resorted to lubricity for popularity at his very outset, in his *Blind Beggar*, and very freely indulged in it to the last in comedy, he appears to have done so under the usual economic compulsion. Much of his didactic writing goes to show that he would rather have been more worthily employed; and he did "labour terribly" over his Homer, albeit never with due patience, even within his own limits of literary judgment. He was too intimate with the Furies to be a favourite with the Muses.

² "I like him well; 'tis not amiss," says Lafeu (IV, iv, 72). This in "bitter comedy"!

³ Perhaps scene i of Act IV of the *Merry Wives* is no better. And there again the probable operator is Chapman. See *The Problem of the 'Merry Wives'*, 1917, p. 23.

⁴ That *Love's Labour's Lost* is also an adaptation of a pre-Shakespearean play is now widely recognised to be probable; but that is a problem by itself, though it obviously connects with that of the tracing of *Love's Labour's Won*.

to cast back as far as Greene; and the clowning in the scenes under notice is not far out of the beaten track of that fertile craftsman, acclaimed at his death as "the only comedian, of a vulgar writer, in this country."

But if there is a Greene substratum, there is certainly a Chapman overlaying. Helena's speech to the Countess (II, iii, 227) is in its verse absolutely Chapmanese, and as absolutely non-Shakespearean:—

You know my father left me some prescriptions
Of rare and proved effect, such as his reading
And manifest experience had collected
For general sovereignty; and that he will'd me
In heedfull'st reservation to bestow them,
As *notes* whose faculties *inclusive* were
More than they were in *note*: amongst the rest
There is a remedy approved, set down,
To cure the desperate languishings whereof
The King is render'd lost.

Three things are here to be "noted" by the student: (1) that those monotonously double-ended and line-ended verses,¹ if written by Shakespeare, constitute at once a complete renunciation by him of his own great instrument and the acceptance of one of a charmless type; (2) that the wording of the sixth and seventh lines is equally unnatural for him and typical of Chapman; and (3) that the ninth and tenth lines, so entirely alien to Shakespeare's way of writing, contain a Chapmanese noun (*languishings*), never elsewhere appearing in the Folio, and an idiom, "is render'd lost," which Chapman specially affected, and which also occurs only here in the Concordance. Verbal clues are best noted collectively; but this and some others are worth specification here. Chapman was so given to that kind of phrasing that he has the forms: "render cheer'd," "render slain," "render known," "render stay," "render weak," "rendering happily directed," "render not pure nor so sincere their powers;" as well as kindred constructions like "suffered spoiled," "make endued," "bring asleep." In CHABOT: THE ADMIRAL OF FRANCE

¹ Parallel sets to which can be produced from Chapman by the dozen.

(I, i, 174) we have it coupled with another phrase, hereinafter cited, occurring in ALL'S WELL:—

And so *render you*,
In the King's frown on him, *the only darling*;

and yet again, in CHABOT, we have :

Should make me see more, and my forces
Render of better judgment—

the same irrepressible tic of phrase.¹

The upholders of the Imitation Theory, we know, do not stick at trifles. Will they then, in the face of such phenomena, call upon us to believe that Shakespeare, in an access of his strange malady (which, on the same theory, drove him to duplicate Chapman's more saccharine comedy style in certain verses in the MERRY WIVES),² felt he must give his Chapmanese the very seal of the Master by inditing such a phrase as "desperate languishings whereof the King is render'd lost"? They have figured him for us as "learning to write" by humbly aping everybody, at a stage at which he could already write better than anybody. Are we now to try to assimilate the still more indigestible conception that after re-writing JOHN and HENRY IV and adapting JULIUS CÆSAR he went about to learn how *not* to write by humbly borrowing the possessed pen of Chapman?³ Some suffering spirits even in the orthodox camp, surely, will protest, unsoothed by Dr. Chambers, charm he never so academically. It is strain enough to imagine "our Shakespeare" as framing the trivial Parolles plot, in a mood of "bitter comedy," by way of

¹ See the Poems, pp. 99a, 105b, 288b, 316b, 319a: 9th Odyssey, 232; 11th Odyssey, 528; 22nd Od. 325; 24th Od. 507, 516.

² See *The Problem of "The Merry Wives,"* p. 25.

³ That the epithet is not excessive may be gathered by the reader from the just judgment passed on Chapman's style by Swinburne in his most careful critical performance:—" . . . the crabbed and bombastic verbiage, the tortuous and pedantic obscurity, the rigidity and the laxity of a style which moves as it were with a stiff shuffle, at once formal and shambling; which breaks bounds with a limping gait, and plays truant from all rule without any of the grace of freedom; wanders beyond law and straggles out of order at the halting pace of age and gravity, and in the garb of a schoolmaster plays the pranks of a schoolboy with a ponderous and lumbaginous licence of movement, at once rheumatic and erratic." (*Essay on Chapman.*) The praise which precedes and follows is hardly less just.

showing how he could rival Chapman in (so to speak) excrescential drama ; only coming short of his model by failing to call his play MONSIEUR PAROLLES in homage to MONSIEUR D'OLIVE, where the excrescent mountebank becomes the titular personage of a play with whose action he has no concern. But to add to that theory of obsession the vision of a master-poet at the height of his power compelled by a congenital passion of plagiarism to write down to every passing fashion of bad style, is really to overstrain even the assimilative powers of orthodoxy.

The tortuous style continues in the Countess's lines :

When the schools,
Embowell'd of their doctrine, have *left off*
The danger to itself,—

where "schools" (in this sense) and "embowell'd" are again words special to this play ; and Helena's further lines predicting that her father's

good receipt
Shall for my legacy be sanctified
By the luckiest stars in heaven,

go partly to strengthen the surmise that Shakespeare had touched her previous soliloquy. In the second Act, again, the blank-verse of the opening scene-section hints of revision by Shakespeare, though the vocabulary goes on specialising till in six lines by Parolles we have four words peculiar to this play ; and his sentence : "Use a more spacious ceremony to the noble lords," is exactly in the key and manner of Bassiolo in the USHER. And in the dialogue between the King and Helena there is no sign whatever of re-handling. Thus goes the blank-verse :—

Hel. Ay, my good lord,
Gerard de Narbon was my father,
In what he did profess well found.

King. I knew him.

Hel. The rather will I spare my praises towards him ;
Knowing him is enough. On's bed of death
Many receipts he gave me—chiefly one,
Which as the dearest issue of his practice,

And of his old experience *the only darling*,¹
 He bade me store up, *as a triple eye*,
Safer than mine own two, more dear: I have so;
 And, hearing your high majesty is touch'd
 With *that malignant cause wherein the honour*
 Of my dear father's gift *stands chief in power*,
 I come to tender it and my appliance
 With all bound humbleness.

King.

We thank you, maiden . . .

From this pounding monotony of double-endings its author soon seeks relief in couplets: but when we come to the rhyme of "minister" and "finisher" we are assured that there has been no "change in the bowling." In 69 lines of blank-verse (62 to 132—two rhymed) we have had 27 double-endings, all but 40 per cent., a Chapmanese and not a Shakespearean rate,² and the couplets are no less un-Shakespearean.

But in our assignment of the rhyme to the same hand we are checked by special considerations. Helena's speech:—

The great'st grace lending grace,
 Ere twice the horses of the sun shall bring
 Their fiery torcher his diurnal ring,
 Ere twice in murk and occidental damp
 Moist Hesperus hath quench'd his sleepy lamp,
 Or four and twenty times the pilot's glass
 Hath told the thievish minutes how they pass,
 What is infirm from your sound parts shall fly;
 Health shall live free, and sickness freely die—

has certain pre-Shakespearean notes, though the two last lines seem pure Chapmanese. In Greene's ALPHONSUS, KING OF ARRAGON (IV, i), we have the lines:—

Thrice ten times Phæbus with his golden beams
 Hath compass'd the *circle of the sky*:
Thrice ten times Ceres hath her workmen hir'd
 And filled her barns with fruitful crops of grain,
 Since . . . ;

and in the following scene these:—

Thrice *Hesperus* with pomp and peerless pride
 Hath heav'd his head forth of the eastern seas;
 Thrice *Cynthia*, with *Phæbus' borrow'd beams*,
 Hath shown her beauty through the darkish clouds,
 Since

¹ See above, p. 39. The phrase seems to have been current slang.

² Compare the opening scene-section of *Monsieur D'Olive*.

As ALPHONSUS OF ARRAGON was probably an attempt to vie with ALPHONSUS OF GERMANY, it may be dated about the same time. When, then, we find in an early part of Spenser's *FAERIE QUEENE* (II, ix, 7), published in 1590, this passage:—

Seven times the sunne, with his *lamp-burning light*
Hath *walkt about the world*, and I no lesse,
Sith¹

and in Greene's *SELIMUS* (II. 41-43) this:—

Twice fifteen times hath fair Latona's son
Walked about the world with his great light
Since

we are, in the first place, confirmed in the view that *SELIMUS* is a later play than *LOCRINE*.² In the second place we are moved to ask (1) whether the imitative Greene, starting from that cue, followed it up in the primary version of *ALL'S WELL*; and (2) whether those rhymed lines in the play-scene in *HAMLET* may have originally come from *his* hand:—

Full *thirty times* hath *Phœbus'* cart gone round
Neptune's salt wash, and Tellus' orb'd ground;
And thirty dozen moons, with borrow'd sheen,
About the world have times twelve thirties been,
Since

For the votarists of the Imitation Theory, this is a quite special opportunity to establish Shakespeare's passion for plagiarism. In four lines, followed by a "since," he can here be claimed to have aped, in rhyme, two parallel four-line passages of Greene's, also followed by a "since," echoing in detail the references to Phœbus and Cynthia, the "borrow'd beams," and "thirty times," and, in addition, Spenser's and Greene's "about the world." And now, after—or before?—that congenial

¹ It is presumably Spenser that the author of *The Return from Parnassus* (Pt. I, i, 1: datable Dec. 1597) has in mind in his lines:—

Seven times the earth in wanton liverie
Hath deckt herselfe to meet her blushing love,
Since

² See *Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon*, ch. viii, § 1.

exercise in *HAMLET*, he must be supposed, on traditionist lines, to have done substantially the same thing in *ALL'S WELL*, bringing in, this time, Greene's *Hesperus* and Spenser's "lamp," and "ring" for "circle," so as to leave nothing unused of either predecessor. The inquirer who cannot readily imagine Shakespeare thus fixedly hypnotised by far-away models is moved to surmise, as aforesaid, that Greene, who so echoed himself in successive scenes of one play, had carried his little aria further afield, in some early collaboration in Kyd's *HAMLET*, of which our first Quarto contains only portions. But if this conjecture be repelled, it is still the more plausible course (1) to connect the play-scene with Chapman,¹ seeing that "Tellus' orb'd ground" is so much in his manner, and that the line

None wed the second but who kill'd the first

points to his sentence:

That to wed the second was no better than to cuckold the first (*WIDOW'S TEARS*, II, iv, 30):

and further (2) to assign to his hand in *ALL'S WELL* those rhymed lines above cited, though they seem to embody old material of Greene's. It happens that the words *murk* and *occidental*, occurring only in this play in the Folio, and not traceable, I think, in Chapman, are both assignable to Greene, who in *JAMES IV* (I, iii: Dyce, pp. 195*b*, 196*b*) has: "this din of mirk and baleful harm," "the mirk and sable night," and "in mirkest terms"; and also has "occident"² in *ORLANDO* (Dyce, p. 103*a*) and in *SELIMUS* (l. 139).

The marks of Greene, in fact, cannot be accounted for save on a theory of his early connection with the play. On the other hand, "the fiery torcher" could

¹ I have elsewhere maintained (*Shakespeare and Chapman*, p. 216) that the Queen's couplets in the play-scene are markedly in Chapman's manner throughout. And the *All's Well* passage (v, iii, 91-92):

This ring,
Whose high respect and rich validity

chimes noticeably with

Of violent birth but poor validity,

in the play-scene.

² This, however, occurs in *Richard II* and in *Cymbeline*.

hardly come from anybody but Chapman, who framed the phrase "the torchy evening" (besides using the more normal "fiery coursers of the sun" and "fiery sun"), and with whom the torch is such a hard-worked property, alike in metaphor for sun, moon, or stars, or abstractions, and in concrete form. Still, one does not readily imagine him using Greene's old tags unless he had them before him in a piece for adaptation.

In this connection it may suffice to add that there is a general ground for suspecting Greene to have introduced, from Cinthio, the main plot of *ALL'S WELL*, and to have modified about the same time Whetstone's *PROMOS* in an early form of *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*, which is so closely akin at that point. When we find in both plays snatches of what seems pre-Shakespearean verse, it is to Greene that we should most naturally look, the special plot-motive being such as would attract him, and the final pardon for unpardonable deeds being specially in his taste, and much more characteristic of him than of Chapman or anybody else.

The Greene-theory, clearly, must rank thus far as an unproved hypothesis. The Chapman theory, on the other hand, finds support in every scene of *ALL'S WELL*, as in *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*, save in so far as the clown scenes of the former seem to savour more of Greene. Those slabs of couplets are in style like neither early nor late Shakespeare: they are solely like Chapman. In the lines (ii, iii, 134 sq.):—

Where great additions swell's [*i.e.* swell us] and virtue none,
It is a drowsied honour. Good alone
Is good without a name. Vileness is so :
The property by what it is should go,
Not by the title,

we have not merely the jerky manner¹ of Chapman's

¹ A sample or two of Chapman's manner in this kind may assist the reader to appreciate the argument :—

What man does good, but he consumes thereby?
But thou wert loved for good, held high, given show ;
Poor virtue loathed for good, obscured, held low ;
Do good, be pined, be deedless good, disgraced ;
Unless we feed on men, we let them fast.

sententious couplets, but two words (*dropsied* and *vileness*) occurring only in this play in the Folio, and a style, notably in the first line, that is not Shakespeare's, the "none" being a badly forced rhyme to "alone"; while the "*Vileness is so*" is another bad Chapmanesque ellipsis. That Shakespeare would imitate in that desperate fashion is a notion that only the last exigencies of a desperate theory could inspire. Shakespeare may have revised the blank-verse which follows; the prose which succeeds is Chapman's. Parolles calling Bertram "sweetheart" points to Bassiolo and Vince in the USHER (III, ii, 118, 133, etc.); and not till Bertram's dismissal of Helena at the end of the Act does Shakespeare seem to resume revision, which is perhaps continued in the first scene of Act III, though there "our borrowing prayers" and "self-unable motion" are plain Chapmanisms. After the clown-section of scene ii, revision is again more or less apparent, but an impression only of revision, not of drafting, is set up by Helena's soliloquy at the close. This is freed from Chapman's monotony, but it is not the free play of Shakespeare's pen; and such a Chapmanese verb as "to console," used only here in the Folio, points to the inveterate neologist. The same impression recurs in scene vii, with its regulated and partly suppld versification and its speeches ending on short lines.

Beyond this point there is little more to be said. The prose dialogue of the two French lords concerning Bertram (iv, iii), though rather didactic and narrative than dramatic, strikes a higher note than do the neighbouring scenes; and it might be urged that here

In anything a woman does alone,
If she dissemble, she thinks 'tis not done;
If not dissemble, nor a little chide,
Give her her wish, she is not satisfied.

Bussy D'Ambois, II, ii, 179-182.

Well said. Unthankful, fearful, eat and drink,
And fear to starve still! Know'st thou not who sings
Before the thief? The penury of things
Whither confers it? Draws it not one breath
With great satiety? End not both in death?

Shakespeare has sought to heighten and strengthen the moral tone of the piece, which otherwise runs so much to unsavoury plot, and facile pardon for Bertram's baseness. In particular, students would like to think that the concluding speech of the scene is Shakespeare's own:—

The web of our life is a mingled yarn, good and ill together:
our virtues would be proud if our faults whipped them not; and
our crimes would despair if they were not cherished by our virtues.

Save for "crimes,"¹ the phrasing is good enough to be his; and if so it is one more blow to the "bitter comedy" thesis. But when we find in Chapman such lines as:—

Oh, of what contraries consists a man!
Of what impossible mixtures, vice and virtue
We have not any strength but weakens us
Our knowledges do light us but to err,
Our ornaments are burthens²

we are yet again led to infer his draftsmanship. The diction of the rest of the scene could quite well be Chapman's, and here as elsewhere we have at best but revision. Henceforward no scene suggests any higher drafting. The work is not Shakespeare's, as the plot is not his: at most he has curbed Chapman's tedious volubility. We may infer his hand in the rhythm of such lines as those of the King:—

For we are old, and on our quick'st decrees
The inaudible and noiseless foot of Time
Steals ere we can effect them;

but only as heightening or controlling the work of another; and the tautology of "inaudible and noiseless" is a second-rate touch.

¹ Which again points to Chapman: "slight and pervial crimes": Poems, p. 197b.

² *Byron's Tragedy*, v, iii, 189-196. The last phrase recurs in *The Tears of Peace*: Poems, p. 120b.

III. CLUES OF FORM

Much of the critical discussion on ALL'S WELL indicates that the mixture of rhyme with blank-verse has been found surprising in a play dated in Shakespeare's middle period.¹ It is mainly on that ground that a solution has been sought by positing an early draft revised a number of years later by its author. But to recognise the alternations of blank and rhymed verse as relatively faulty in serious scenes is to put a reason why, if the rhyme were youthful work of Shakespeare's, he should eject it in his maturity. The point has to be broadly considered. There is an irruption of second-rate rhyme in TWELFTH NIGHT (III, i, end) which indeed distinctly suggests survival from an "early" play, and has no Shakespearean quality; and so late as the MERCHANT we find rhyme rather weakly employed in the lines (III, ii, 140-149) with which Bassanio follows up the archaic rhyme found by him in the casket. So unsatisfying is the effect, indeed, that we may naturally suspect the couplets to be pre-Shakespearean, like the texts of the scrolls in the caskets, or the work of some other reviser.

On the other hand, it has to be confessed that Bassanio's previous blank-verse lines, acclaiming the portrait of Portia which he finds in the casket, are faulty in Shakespeare's own "early" way, putting as they do a string of *concetti* where the situation calls for something greater and truer. And here we cannot deny the versification to be his: it must just go as immature and second-rate work.

When traditionist critics, for lack of any other argument, tell us that Shakespeare could at times write badly, we reply that even if we had never groaned over the *concetti* in the poems, we all knew as much, with such matter as this for evidence. Here we have Shakespeare faulting in his own way—a phenomenon

¹ The couplets in OTHELLO, I, iii, 202-219 have been pointed to by several critics as probably non-Shakespearean.

that might once for all serve to bar the strange hypothesis that he would deliberately fault in everybody else's way, and in everybody else's style. But this "precious" writing in the *MERCHANT* is visibly of the first and not of the middle period; and even if we regard the rhymed address of the successful Bassanio to Portia as of Shakespeare's penning, it gives us no ground for believing that, years later, he would dream of drafting long rhymed speeches in a comedy in Chapman's more serious manner, with incongruous reminiscences of Greene. Above all, it gives us no reason for believing that he would then rhyme "minister" with "finisher," though there are rhymes as bad as that in the *VENUS* and the *LUCRECE*. Those poems are works of careless youth, written for necessary pelf, and never followed up in that kind. The work here is another's: and Chapman, who rhymed "honour" with "horror," is the likely perpetrator.

In any case, the resorts to couplets in the middle of blank-verse dialogue in *ALL'S WELL*, unintelligibly ill-judged as coming from the mature Shakespeare, are entirely intelligible as coming from Chapman. With him, the practice is not a convention which he follows while it is a matter of usage: it becomes a special proclivity. Not only in his tragedies but in his most personal poetic utterances—as, his prefatory matter to the Homer translation and his late *Invective* against Jonson—he switches from rhyme to blank and from prose to rhyme as if his internal machinery required the changes. This does not, of course, carry the inference that he wrote the sonnet-letter; but it is no more likely that Shakespeare did. It remains one of the grounds for inferring an earlier form of the play.

Another clue of form is the reversion in *ALL'S WELL* to chorused speeches. This faulty convention also belonged to the pre-Shakespearean drama, and is freely used in *TITUS*. It never occurs in the *DREAM* and but once in *JOHN*.¹ But Chapman abounds in "omnes"

¹ The speech (iv, iii, 73) may be understood as spoken by Bigot, Pembroke assenting.

and "ambo" speeches; and in ALL'S WELL we have three instances:—II, i, 22; II, iii, 71; III, v, end. All of these are badly lacking in verisimilitude, and all are Chapmanesque.

IV. THE IMITATION CRUX

Thus far we have traced Chapman by the tests of style, diction, versification in blank-verse and rhyme, type-drawing and handling of "character" interest, manner and matter of dialogue, dramatic form, and forms of opinion. Against any one of those clues singly, it might reasonably be argued that similarity of mode and idea does not infer identity of hand. When, however, so many clues point in one direction, it is at least fairly clear that there is either identity of source or systematic imitation of one hand by another. And if the Imitation Theory is to be brought to bear in support of Shakespeare's authorship of ALL'S WELL, it must be carried to an extent of imputation to which, when the data are arrayed, few critical spirits will assent.

The Chapman atmosphere in the play is all-pervading. Not only what we may term the *genre*-work in the dialogues of Lafeu and Parolles, the use of Parolles as a moral grotesque, and the insertion of the farcical episode of his imbecility and humiliation, but the "serious" commentary on affairs which sprinkles the dialogue, is in the Chapman way of thought and diction. And on neither side do we find either the ripe or the unripe Shakespeare—the writer of KING JOHN or the re-writer of HAMLET. We get either Chapman or a deliberate copy of his manner and methods, and this on his average, not his higher level.

Chapman's fertility of resource on artificial planes of drama is very considerable. As seen at work in the USHER, he evidently had the idea—perhaps through his study of Homer¹—that to make every character

¹ See his Comm. on B. 1. of the Iliad (Temple ed. i. 22).

in some way peculiar would yield a more life-like effect than to parade a number of persons of whom, as in *ALL FOOLS* and *MAY-DAY*, only a few differentiate markedly, the others merely figuring as sharers in a general plot action. Parolles and D'Olive and Cortezza and Poggio and Bassiolo are examples of the kind of effect obtainable by forcing into prominence a blatant and ridiculous figure. On the Imitation Theory, Parolles is Shakespeare's deliberate attempt to create and handle such a Chapman figure; yet Parolles is less vigorously sketched and obtruded than is D'Olive. They are introduced in the same fashion—Parolles by Helena's aside, before quoted, and by Lafeu's comments; D'Olive by the comment of Rhoderique:—¹

Oh! 'tis a most accomplished ass, the mugrill [= mongrel] of a gull and a villain, the very essence of his soul is pure villainy; the substance of his brain, foolery; one that believes nothing from the stars upward. A Pagan in belief, an epicure beyond belief; prodigious in lust, prodigal in wasteful expense, in necessary most penurious; his wit is, to admire and imitate, his grace is, to censure and detract . . .

For all this fulminant preamble there is ultimately nothing to show; for D'Olive does but play the blather-skite to the end. It would seem that just that kind of activity constituted an element of theatrical success, as against the preposterous main plot of the play called by D'Olive's name.² Are we to suppose, then, that Shakespeare took the hint, and vamped-up Parolles to the same end? Or that he anticipated Chapman in that line? If so, not only "the less Shakespeare

¹ Similarly Bassiolo is labelled by Strozza in the *Usher*:—

He hath two inward swallowing properties
Of any gudgeons: servile avarice
And overweening thought of his own worth,
Ready to snatch at every shade of glory.

² Professor Parrott rejects as having "nothing to recommend it" Fleay's theory that *D'Olive* in its first form was the play entitled *The Will of a Woman* and later *The Fountain of New Fashions* (1598); and that the present play is a recast with a new title; but I continue to regard Fleay's theory as a sound one. It is hardly conceivable that the play should have been planned as it stands, with the present title. But it is quite conceivable that when the fantastic stuff of the original main plot proved unattractive, the developed presentment of D'Olive, in the hands of an effective actor, may have secured a comparative success. And, as Professor Parrott shows, the many embassades of 1604 gave the cue.

he," but the less playwright, for Parolles is a feeblar piece of caricature than D'Olive. That Chapman, on the other hand, would imitate Shakespeare in this fashion is as unlikely a hypothesis as could well be framed. And if it be urged that the cross-gartered Malvolio is partly a figure of the same species, let the challenger bethink himself whether Shakespeare is to be held to have invented that.

On the "serious" side, again, we have the parallelism of the medical element in our play and the *USHER*, and the handling in both of the theme of the supernatural. The wounded Strozza proclaims (IV, iii, 61) that

Humility hath raised me to the stars ;
In which (as in a sort of crystal globes)
I sit and see things hid from human sight ;

and after he has announced in that context :

I'll teach my physician
To build his cares hereafter upon heaven
More than on earthly medicines,

and further expatiated in the fifth Act, scene ii, on the curative virtue of his own prophetic patience, with the reflection :

No act is superstitious that applies
All power to God, *devoting hearts through eyes*,

we find him in the same scene telling Benevemus :

Come, reverend doctor . . . bear with you
Medicines t' allay his danger : if by wounds,
Bear precious balsam, or some sovereign juice ;
If by fell poison, some choice antidote ;
If by black witchcraft, our good spirits and prayers
Shall exorcise the devilish wrath of hell
Out of his princely bosom.

It is this typical medley of Chapmanese sentiment that forbids us to be sure of Shakespeare's insertion of

Our remedies oft in ourselves do lie
Which we ascribe to Heaven ;

though rarely indeed does Chapman phrase so featly,

and at least revision is to be inferred. But the presentment (v, iv, 141) of

Grave Benevemus, honourable doctor,
On whose most sovereign Æsculapian hand
Fame, with her richest miracles, attends,

is no less of the same pattern with the deceased father of Helena than is the further versification of Alphonso's speech—

Be fortunate, as ever heretofore,
That we may 'quite thee both with gold and honour,
And by thy happy means have power to make
My son and his much injured love amends,
Whose well-proportion'd choice we now applaud,
And bless all those that ever further'd it—

a sample of the strenuous monotony of the unrevised versification of ALL'S WELL.

On *that*, conceived as a process of imitation, which it must be if it be Shakespeare's, it is probably useless to dilate further. Those who know what Shakespeare's own versification is like will come to their own conclusion on the possibility of his renouncing his unmatched faculty, to copy every charmless verse-style that came in his way; and those who cannot see the difference are not open to critical influence. If they see any significance whatever in metrical phenomena, they must put this play, with its 42 per cent. of double-endings in the long dénouement scene, late in the series of Shakespeare's works, and to do that is to pronounce it a work of artistic and intellectual decadence—a truly fit resting-place for the Imitation Theory.

By way of averting supererogatory discussion, however, it may be well to point out that the issue does not turn on the dating of ALL'S WELL in relation to any Chapman play. It is probably subsequent, as it stands, to the USHER if not to D'OLIVE; but if it should be found to have preceded either, or both, the question of its imitativeness, regarded as a work of Shakespeare's, would not be affected. Unless, upon a right-about-face from the Imitation Theory, he be supposed to have

invented Chapman's later verse-manner and play-methods (as the theory of his production of the ERRORS before coming to London assumes him to have invented the versification of Marlowe), this play remains a Chapmanese performance. Whether Parolles preceded or followed Bassiolo and D'Olive; whether the huddled double-endings and line-ended rhythms of so many speeches in ALL'S WELL came earlier or later than D'OLIVE and the USHER, they are cast in the Chapman mould. From this challenge the traditionist cannot escape; and he has his choice between the internecine absurdities of the Imitation Theory and the Invention Theory on the one hand, and, on the other, the scientific solution of assignment of alien matter to alien hands. When he has fully collated the further clues of phraseology and vocabulary which in this case confirm the ascription to Chapman, his choice should not be very difficult.

V. CLUES OF PHRASEOLOGY AND DICTION

In terms of the Imitation Theory, Shakespeare is as avid a copyist of other men's tags and phrases as he is of their style, versification, and dramatic methods. He is on this view, as aforesaid, the echoer of Greene's double echo of Spenser in HAMLET and in ALL'S WELL; of Chapman's hard-worked sentiment about men whose soul is in their clothes, and who are fathers of their garments; and of his cumbrous idiom, "render'd lost." And all through the piece we must thus conceive him as echoing the phrases of the man whose methods he is adopting. When Helena says that the "fixed evils" of Parolles "take place," she is phrasing with Chapman, who writes¹ that certain forms of Poesy "take place" of the rest; and when she tastefully addresses Parolles:—

Bless our poor virginity from underminers and blowers up!
Is there no military policy, how virgins might blow up men?

she is using a figure which Chapman employs a dozen

¹ Justification of "Poesy and Architecture" and "Poesy and Architecture"

times¹ and coining "blowers-up" as he does "botchers-up"; as again, when the Countess (I, iii, 156-8) fantastically asks her:

What's the matter,
That this distemper'd messenger of wet,
The *many-colour'd* Iris, rounds thine eye?

it is a recurring formula of Chapman's that is drawn upon.² So, again, in III, i, ii, "a common and an *outward* man" is one of Chapman's most hackneyed themes. Equally in his manner and diction is the line (v, iii, 47):

Where the *impression*³ of mine eye *infixing*,

with the run of four double-endings which follows; and, to maintain the imitation, we have Chapman's frequent phrase⁴ "*most hideous*." The French lord's "I begin to love him for this" (iv, iii, 293) after hearing Parolles' abuse of him is a form of irony used by Chapman both in *Bussy* and its sequel.

But perhaps the most interesting case of "imitation" in our play is the use of the term "embossed" (III, vi, 107) in regard to the trapping of Parolles. In all other instances in the Folio this word has the huntsman's meaning of "foam-spotted" or swollen;⁵ and if there is any formula about Shakespeare that is generally received without challenge it is that he was at home in the language of hunting. But here he must be supposed to have dropped his usual application of the word to

¹ "Undermines, blows up," occurs as a metaphor in the Poems, p. 150a. Compare the *Usher*, iv, i, 54, and Poems, pp. 167b, 170a, 263b, 272a. "Botcher-up" occurs in *Byron's Consol.*, v, i, 35; and "setters-up" in the Poems, p. 326.

² I have elsewhere set forth the reasons for ascribing to Chapman the Interlude in the *Tempest*, pronounced non-Shakespearean by the first Cambridge editors. There we have Iris named "the *many-coloured messenger*"; and in his version of the *Iliad* (iii, 145) she is "the thousand-colour'd Dame," where the original has simply "the Goddess." In Chapman's part of *Hero and Leander* (iii, 243) we have "twenty-colour'd eye."

³ See *Shakespeare and Chapman*, p. 88.

⁴ *Invective against Ben Jonson*, l. 17; *Gentleman Usher*, v, i, 102. In 'The Problem of *The Merry Wives*' (p. 20) I have shown the reason for ascribing the feeble use of the phrase in that play to Chapman.

⁵ Chapman spells "imboast" in this sense:

My imboast
And rock-torn body.

adopt Chapman's, which makes it = ambushed, or surrounded :—

Like hinds that have no hearts,
Who, wearied with a long-run field, are instantly embost.
4th Iliad, 258.

Embost within a shady hill, the lucerns charge him round.
11th Iliad, 421.

Chapmanese with a difference is the phrase: "this captious and intenible sieve" (I, iii, 208), put in the mouth of Helena, who says that into this, her hope, she "still pours in the waters of her love." It is a grotesque and infelicitous figure, of which the two terms "captious" and "intenible" are peculiar to this play in the Folio. Some commentators have haggled over the interpretation, which is simple enough. A sieve "takes in" but does not "hold in," and the first is a meaning attachable on etymological grounds to "captious," as "intenible" may be forced to mean "not holding in." Both words have been pounced upon by the experts of the Baconian Theory as examples of the "classical scholarship" of the playwright, who, they say, must have been well-versed in Latin to be capable of such "bold" neologism. As a witness to the virtue of scholarship, those constructions are indeed precious; but the scholarship at work in this case was verily not that of the Stratford actor, who came not by violence into his kingdom of language. The source is pretty certainly Chapman, the most obstreperous neologist of his time. Chapman used "captious" twice in his plays (USHER, III, ii, 219; D'OLIVE, II, i, 157); and if anybody was capable of inventing "intenible" in this connection it was he. In the dedication of his *Seven Books of the Iliad* (1598) to Essex, he has the expression "sieve-witted"; and in the translation he has "sieve of news" (i, 116). The epithet "sieve-witted" is forcible and vernacular; the other appears to be, like that put in Helena's mouth, a fantastic attempt, by a wilful writer, to force a metaphor. Another use of the word, in BYRON'S *TRAGEDY* (III, near end), indicates that it had become one of his tics: "pour into the sieve" has become

with him a favourite figure of speech; hence the lines of Helena.

And from the same wilful mint, I think, comes the fantastic phrase in the Euphuistic conversation of the Countess and Lafeu in the opening scene:—

Laf. Your commendations, madam, get from her tears.

Countess. 'Tis the best brine a maiden can season her praise in.

The student will at once recall (1) that in LUCRECE (796) is the line:—

Seasoning the earth with showers of silver brine;

(2) that in ROMEO AND JULIET (II, iii, 72) we have the passage:—

How much *salt water*, thrown away in waste,
To *season* love;

(3) that in A LOVER'S COMPLAINT (17-18) we have the tortured lines:

Laundering the silken figures in the *brine*
That *season'd* woe had *pelleted* in tears;

and (4) that in TWELFTH NIGHT (I, i, 29) there comes the less grotesque but still infelicitous passage:

And water once a day her chamber round
With *eye-offending brine*; all this to *season*
A brother's dead love.

And I readily confess that if Shakespeare is to be believed to have written A LOVER'S COMPLAINT, and to have harped on that figure of seasoning brine again and again, in TWELFTH NIGHT and ALL'S WELL, after using it in LUCRECE, the Imitation Theory has a real prop. For this too, in its later forms, is a Chapmanism, occurring in Chapman's signed work first in a part of his translation of the Iliad (iii, 151) published in 1598:—

Season'd with tears her joys to see more joys the more offence;

and again, in all its force, in a late poem (1614):

How his *tears* led others, all the fane,
Flowing with such *brine-seasoning parts humane*:

Eugenia, Vigil 3. (Poems, p. 340b.)

That weird image, in a less hideous phrasing, evidently had some popular currency, whence its use in *LUCRECE* and in *ROMEO AND JULIET*; and on that ground it might be argued that Shakespeare was all along using a common figure. But I have shown, I think, adequate grounds for holding that not he but Chapman wrote *A LOVER'S COMPLAINT*;¹ and to suppose that either a sight of that composition or a hearing of the phrase from any other source moved him in two comedies to write so crudely of tears as seasoning brine would be to cast doubt on a conviction which one is glad to share with Dr. Herford, namely, that in Shakespeare genius was mated with common sense—a thing not to be said of Chapman.

And that cue brings us to one more Chapmanism in *ALL'S WELL*. One of the tortured couplets in the King's dialogue with Helena runs:

And what impossibility would slay
In common sense, sense saves another way.

"Common sense" has not here the modern "hyphenated" meaning of "good sense"; it is the *communis sensus* of the scholastic philosophy of the age, and it was already a favourite theme with Chapman as early as 1595, being introduced thrice in the text and notes of his *OVID'S BANQUET OF SENSE*. First he explains in a footnote that, as philosophers affirm, "the species of every object propagates itself by our spirits to our common sense; that delivers it to the imaginative part; that to the cogitative; the cogitative to the passive intellect; the passive intellect to that which is called *Dianoia* or *Discursus*; and that delivers it up to the mind." I will not answer for the topographical accuracy, as to any one philosopher's psychology, of this singular route-map, which has little "common-sense" for the modern student; but merely note that the term enters into the poetic text, and is again explained, in a footnote on "that inward sense which makes all sense," as "the common sense which is *centrum sensibus et speciebus* and . . . doth

¹ See *Shakespeare and Chapman*.

sapere in effectione sensuum." The further expression: "sense saves another way," is no less markedly Chaphmanesque, as all students will admit. The main phrase occurs also in SIR GILES GOOSECAP (IV, iii, 2):

the knowing beams
That through thy common sense glance through thy eyes ;

again in CHARLEMAGNE (V, i, 81) ; and since the former play is to be dated after 1600, and the theme nowhere else arises in a "Shakespeare" play, it is reasonably to be regarded as of Chapman's introducing here.

Another phrasal clue to Chapman is Parolles' labelling of Bertram (IV, iii, 249) "a whale to virginity," which points to the fable of ANDROMEDA LIBERATA, where the virgin-slaying monster is a whale, and "land-whale" emerges as an epithet. Yet another is the "precious" phrase (II, i, 163) "the great'st grace lending grace," which points to "gracing your gracious graces" in the USHER, II, near end ; and "When this grace the grac'd-with-wisdom did him," in 8th Od., 639.

Such instances of markedly imitative phraseology would indeed prove little apart from the general evidence of imitation already considered. They would but suggest the varying currency of certain tags and locutions in Shakespeare's day. But when we proceed from specialties of phrase to the general test of vocabulary, noting all the cases in which a word appears only in this play in the Folio, it becomes impossible thus to dismiss the accumulated evidence of community of source. It is unnecessary here to re-argue the question of the evidential significance of once-used words in general.¹ The plain common-sense of the matter is that where they abound in a play plainly composite, and can in a large proportion be traced to one contemporary author, it is impossible to exclude the inference that that author had a hand in the piece under notice. And that is the case here.

¹ See *An Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon*, p. 174, seq.

VI. CLUES OF VOCABULARY

Among the once-used words in every play there are always a number which might naturally be dismissed as non-significant, some being in common use, and some being less specialties of vocabulary than "nonce-words" or terms (such as *fistula*) required by the situation. Since, however, there is always risk of arbitrariness in acceptance and rejection of words as significant of source or otherwise, I will in this case give a practically complete list,¹ upon which, when he has noted how many are to be traced to Chapman, the reader can come to his own conclusion. It may be observed that in *ALL'S WELL* the number of once-used words is larger than the average—much larger, for instance, than that found in *TITUS ANDRONICUS*, which is still less Shakespearean. It will further be noted that they include a large number of quite ordinary words, the single use of which in the Folio hints at the laxity of the "vast vocabulary" theory.

*Words occurring only in 'ALL'S WELL' in the Shakespeare
Plays and Poems*

Acutely	Boggle	Chape
Admiringly	Both-sides (adj.)	Cherisher
Adoptious	Braid (adj.)	Clew
Allurement	Bubble (fig.)	Coarsely
Ames-ace	Bunting	Coherent
Applications		Confidently
Araise	Camping	Congied
Attribute (vb.)	Capriccio	Consolate (vb. infin.)
Avail (sb.)	Captious	Credible
	Cardecue (so in Folio : read as <i>quart d'écu</i> in Globe ed.)	Curvet
Bannerets		Discipled
Barely	Case (vb. = flay)	Doctrine (= know- ledge)
Bareness	Casketed	Dog-hole
Barricado (vb.)	Cassocks	Double-meaning (adj.)
Bed-clothes	Cesse (vb.)	
Blowers-up		

¹ I avail myself of the very useful lists given in the 'Irving' Shakespeare, which,

Doughy	Manifoldly	Re-send
Dropsied	Mell (= meddle)	Resolvedly
Dryly	Militarist	Riddle-like
Eagerness	Ministration	Ring-carrier
Embodied	Misprision (=contempt)	Ruttish
Embossed	Mites	
Embowelled	Mourningly	Sally (vb.)
Empirics	Muddled	Scarre ¹
Entail (sb.)	Murk ¹	Schools ²
Enticements	Musk-cat	Seducer
Entrenched (= cut)	Muskets	Self-gracious
Enwombed		Shrieve
Examined (= chal- lenged)	Naturalize	Shrove-Tuesday
Facinerious (= faci- norous)	Neatly	Smoke (vb., twice)
Fated	Necessitied	Snipt-taffeta
Finisher	None-sparing	Soundness
Fisnomy	Nose-herbs	Spark (= youth)
Fishpond	Now-born	Sprat
Fistula		Steely
Foregoers	Occidental ¹	Still-peering
Forehorse	Offendress	Swine-drunk
Forepast	Out-villained	Sword-men
Haggish	Overlooking (sb.)	
Hawking	Over-night	Tax (sb. = accusation)
Headsmen	Over-pay	Thitherward
High-repented		Threateningly
Holy-cruel	Papist	Tile
Hoodman	Pass (= passport)	Tithe-woman
Idolatrous	Past-cure	Token (vb.)
In (vb.)	Past-saving	Tolerable
Inaidible	Persecuted	Toll
Inaudible	Personages (= persons)	Torcher
Inclusive	Philosophical	Traitress
Indian-like	Pile (of cloth)	Transcendence
Intenible	Prejudicates	
Languishings	Prologues (vb.)	Unbaked
Lapse (sb.)	Prophesier	Uncropped
Leaguer		Undermines
Ling	Questant	Unroot
Linsey-woolsey	Ravin (adj.)	Unserviceable
Love-line	Recantation	
	Rector	Vileness
	Red-tailed	Well-derived
	Relinquished	Well-lost
	Remainders	Woman (vb.)
	Removes (sb.)	Woodland

¹ Word of Greene's. See above, pp. 34, 43.² This plural may be challenged as occurring in the *Shrew* (III, i, 18) and in *Lucrece* (1018), but the idea there is not the same.

Many of these words, it will be seen, are so-to-speak unobtrusive, and thus hard to remember as having been used by any particular writer ; and it is a tiresome task to go chasing for them through the thousands of pages of Chapman's multifarious performance, where, I doubt not, may be found many which I have forgotten. To recall uses of such common terms as *attribute*, *barely*, *bareness*, *coarsely*, *dryly*, *lapse*, *muskets*, *neatly*, *seducer*, *thitherward*, *woodland*, and so on, is difficult for any save an exceptional verbal memory ; and, it need hardly be said, any dozen of such words might perfectly well be used by any writer in a single play. The argument from vocabulary is the cumulative inference from the finding that a large number of the once-used words in one Folio play occur in one other author. And though this inference would not have been worth drawing were it not for the general argument against ALL'S WELL, it will perhaps be admitted that the presence in Chapman of the following words from the foregoing list is not easily to be explained away, including as they do both usual and unusual terms :—

Allurement (iv, iii, 241). Poems, pp. 303*a*, 312*a* ; MAY-DAY, III, iii.

Applications (I, ii, 74). Frequent in Chapman : MASK, pref. near end ; Note 8 to HYMNUS IN CYNTHIAM ; OVID'S BANQUET, st. 93 ; Comm. on B. II. and B. III. of Iliad (five times), etc. In the poem DE GUIANA (Poems, p. 51*a*) it is used in the medical sense which it bears in ALL'S WELL.

Avail (sb. I, iii, 190 ; III, i, 22). Poems, p. 147*a*.

Barricado (vb. I, i, 24). REVENGE OF BUSSY D'AMBOIS, I, i, 94.

Blowers-up (I, i, 32). See above, p. 54.

Boggle (vb. v, iii, 232). Used by Chapman (of starting horses), 10th Iliad, 420.

Both-sides (adj. iv, iii, 251). Compare : " Thus must we play on both sides " (REVENGE OF BUSSY, II, i, 131) : " And playing both ways with religion " (BYRON'S TRAGEDY, III, i, 46) ; " Ill plays on both sides " (BUSSY, v, iv, 172). Blanche's " I am with both," in KING JOHN, III, i, 328, is in a different key.

Bubble (met. applied to a person : III, vi, 5). Often so used by Chapman : Poems, pp. 238, 329 ; BUSSY, v, i, near end ; REVENGE OF BUSSY, I, i, 262. Cp. Pref. " to the Reader," to Iliad (Temple ed. i, p. xxii), etc.

- Capriccio (II, iii, 310). Poems, p. 312*b* (pl.). Name of a personage in MASK. *Capriches* in USHER, v, i, 18. Capricious in WIDOW'S TEARS.
- Captious (I, iii, 208). USHER, III, i, 189; D'OLIVE, II, i, 157.
- Cardecue (IV, iii, 311; v, ii, 35). Used by Chapman (spelling *cardecu* or *cardicue*¹) in D'OLIVE, II, i, 12—third speech.
- Case (vb. = flay, III, vi, 111). Chapman has the verb in the contrary sense of *encase* (MAY-DAY, v, ii, 296), also the noun ("lion's case") thrice in a scene in BUSSY (II, i, near end): again in the lines on VOLFONE (Poems, p. 107*a*), several times in MAY-DAY, and in the Hymn to Hermes. The converse use is thus quite likely to be his. "Discase," in the TEMPEST (v, i, 85) and WINTER'S TALE (IV, iv, 648) has to be taken into account.
- Cassocks (IV, iii, 192). Frequent in Chapman; four times in the second Odyssey; twice in the 14th (653, 737); also in BYRON'S TRAGEDY, v, ii, 41.
- Coherent (III, vii, 39). Chapman has both *coherents* (Pref. "To the Understander," with Iliad) and *coherence* (used in 2 HENRY IV, v, i, 73): Note to Hesiod, Poems, p. 214*b*; and BYRON'S CONSPIRACY, III, ii, 101.
- Confidently (III, vi, 21, 94). CHABOT, IV, 248; First version of 1st Iliad: ed. Shepherd, p. 544*a*.
- Congied (IV, iii, 100). Formed from *congé*, which occurs in ALL FOOLS, II, i, 156, and in TWO WISE MEN, as cited, p. 420*a* (*congee*).
- Consolate (vb. infin., III, ii, 131). Argument to the 8th Odyssey, 2.
- Credible (I, ii, 4). *Incredible* also occurs only once in the Folio. Chapman has *incredible* often, also *incredibly*; and *credibly* (TWO WISE MEN, I, i: Poems, p. 388*b*).
- Curvet (sb. II, iii, 299). Chapman has both the noun: BYRON'S CONSPIRACY, v, i, 9, and the verb: BUSSY, I, near end; (*curvetting*: WIDOW'S TEARS, III, ii, 13: Parrott, following the quarto, has *cornetting*, but this was probably a misprint).
- Doctrine (I, iii, 247). So used in 23rd Iliad, 238.
- Eagerness (v, iii, 213). REVENGE FOR HONOUR, I, i, 31. It is odd that this word (which is here used in the modern force) should be rare; but I recall no other instance even in Chapman.
- Embodied (v, iii, 173). Epist. Ded. to Essex with Seven Books of the Iliad, 1598.
- Embossed (III, vi, 107). See above, p. 54.
- Enticements (III, v, 20). I do not recall in Chapman this form, likely as he is to have used it; but he has the noun *entices* (CORONET, vii); and his many uses of *incitement*, *excitement*, *invitement*, etc., make him the likely source.

¹ Evidently the word was pronounced in an English way, and should stand in one of the old spellings.

- Examined (=doubted: III, v, 66). Compare Chapman's use in the verses on A GREAT MAN: Poems, p. 150a, and in MAY-DAY, III, i, 42; also in 1st version of 2nd Iliad; Shepherd's ed. p. 550a.
- Fisnomy (IV, v, 42). Evidently a specialty with Chapman, who has *Physnomies* (USHER, II, i, 235) also *Visnomy* twice (ALL FOOLS, II, i, 159; MAY-DAY, III, iii, 126), as well as *Physiognomy* (BYRON'S CONSPIRACY, III, ii, 130).
- Fistula (I, i, 39). Chapman has *fistulary*. Tr. of HYMN TO VENUS: Poems, p. 300a.
- Fore-part (V, iii, 121). OVID'S BANQUET, st. 110: Poems, p. 36b.
- Fore-horse (II, i, 30). Two WISE MEN, IV, iii.
- Haggish (I, iii, 29). I have not noticed this adjective in Chapman, but "hag" is with him a general term of execration: e.g. Poems, p. 254a.
- Hawking (I, i, 105). Chapman frequently uses literally and metaphorically the verb *to hawk*: BYRON'S CONSPIRACY, III, i, 67; BYRON'S TRAGEDY, II, interlude at end; BUSSY, III, i, five times.
- Headsmen (IV, iii, 342). BYRON'S TRAGEDY, V, iii, 82.
- Idolatrous (I, i, 108). Frequent in Chapman: Poems, pp. 3, 7b, 329b; REVENGE OF BUSSY, IV, iv, 21.
- In (vb. I, iii, 48). Used by Chapman twice in Tr. of Hesiod: Poems, pp. 225, 228.
- Inaudible (V, iii, 41). Though the phrasing here suggests Shakespeare, it is to be suspected that this word (and the same holds of *inaudible*) comes from Chapman, who has both *audible* (GOOSECAP, V, i, 118) and *audibility* (Two WISE MEN, III, ii).
- Indian-like (I, iii, 210). MASK, Description, par. 3.
- Intenible (I, iii, 208). See above, p. 55.
- Languishings (I, iii, 235). Chapman has the noun in ANDROMEDA LIBERATA: Poems, p. 191a; REVENGE OF BUSSY, II, i, 65. The latter passage shows the force:—

A most lingering and tedious life
Or rather no life, but a languishing,
And an abuse of life.

- Misprision (=contempt:¹ II, iii, 159). So used in THE WIDOW'S TEARS, III, i, 17. Another force (mistake) in V, iii, 205.
- Musk-cat (V, ii, 21). BUSSY D'AMBOIS, I, near end.
- Naturalize (I, i, 223). Poems, pp. 127b, 192b.
- None-sparing (III, ii, 108). Compare "none-hurting": 24th Od. 13.
- New-born (II, iii, 186). Compare Chapman's "then-born": Poems, p. 188 (twice), and "to-be-born," p. 191, twice.
- Occidental (II, i, 166). This, like the context, suggests Greene (above, p. 43); but as Chapman begins a conjuration in BUSSY with "Occidentalium legionum spiritualium imperator," it may be his.

¹ In *Twelfth Night*, I, v, 61, the word has its stronger force.

Offendress (I, i, 158). As Chapman had coined *creditress*, *contendress*, *corruptress*, *doctress*, *exploratress*, *imitatrixes*, *ministress*, *inhabitress*, and a dozen more unique nouns-feminine, he may reasonably be held to have penned both *offendress* and *traitress*.

Papist (I, iii, 56). This is of course a word that might be used by anybody, being no matter of style. Occurring in a clown-scene, it may be old matter. Chapman was much too friendly to Catholicism, and too hostile to Puritanism, to use it aspersively, and in this case it has no such force; and the fact of Jonson's being a professed Catholic for twelve years (1598-1610) would make his fellow-craftsmen wary of flouts to his creed. It is interesting to note, however, that the word occurs in a scene (v, i) in *EASTWARD HO* (1604), which seems more likely to be by Jonson than by Chapman—in a list specifying prisoners as “almost of all religions i’ the land, as Papist, Protestant, Puritan, Brownist, Anabaptist, Millenary, Family o’ Love, Jew, Turk, Infidel, Atheist, Good-Fellow.” But the word occurs twice (I, i, ii) in Chapman’s *TWO WISE MEN AND ALL THE REST FOOLS* (see hereinafter: *EXCURSUS ON CHAPMAN’S DISPUTED PLAYS*), where we are apprised of the interesting fact that to call a man a Papist might be made matter for a libel action, with a £40 penalty. The passage in *ALL’S WELL* may thus be Chapman’s.

Pass (=passport: I, v, 58). *Hom. Hymn to Hermes: Poems*, p. 296*b*. Chapman uses the word in various senses, of which this is but one. Cp. “Gave him glorious pass” = unresisted passage (*REVENGE OF BUSSY*, IV, i, 24).

Past-cure (adj. II, i, 124); *Past-saving* (adj. IV, iii, 128). Compare these composites with Chapman’s “past-helping” (“this past-helping pickle”: *CÆSAR AND POMPEY*, II, i, 95) and “cure-passing fevers” (22nd *Iliad*, 27).

Persecuted (=prosecuted, followed up: I, i, 16). Probably a misprint for *prosecuted*, though Chapman once uses *persecution* in something like this sense: *CHABOT*, I, ii, 127 (Cp. V, iii, 142).

Personages (=persons: II, iii, 278). So used in *MAY-DAY*, I, i, 47, and in the prose of the *VINDICATION OF ‘PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA’*: *Poems*, p. 196*a*.

Philosophical (II, iii, 2). Often used by Chapman, though not yet common about 1600. See *Epist. Ded. to OVID’S BANQUET*; Note on *Hesiod: Poems*, p. 217*a*; Note on *Epigrams of Homer*, p. 319; *AN HUMOUROUS DAY’S MIRTH*, sc. iii, 188; *CHABOT*, V, ii, 17.

Prejudicates (I, ii, 8). Chapman several times uses the adjective *prejudicate* (*BYRON’S TRAGEDY*, V, iii, 115: *Poems*, pp. 150*b*, 184); also the noun *prejudicacy* (Pref. “To the Reader” with *Iliad*).

¹ Mr. Frank Marshall (*Irving Shakespeare, in loc.*) puts the meaning as “estimation.” It is surely rather “certificate.”

- Recantation (II, iii, 194, 195). TWO WISE MEN, III, iv.
 Rector (IV, iii, 69). Frequent in Chapman, who applies the term to deities, to "Art the rector of confused Nature," and to Agamemnon (2nd Iliad, 70). Here, "the rector of the place" would come easy to him.
- Relinquished (II, iii, 10). Occurs in Chapman's 1st Iliad, 197; REVENGE FOR HONOUR, IV, i, 291.
- Removes (noun: V, iii, 131). Poems, p. 290*b*, 96*b*, 82*a* and *b*; Trans. of Hom. Hymn to Apollo: Poems, p. 282*a*; CHABOT, V, ii, 86. Chapman used the word many times, and more than once in the plural. It is to be observed that the use of the singular in MEASURE FOR MEASURE, I, i, 44, also implicates Chapman's vocabulary.
- Ruttish (IV, iii, 243). Chapman has the verb, *rutteth*: BUSSY, III, ii, 164.
- Sally (vb. IV, i, 2). Poems, p. 183*b* (noun, p. 273*a*); 24th Odyssey, 672; 12th Iliad, 79.
- Schools (sb. I, iii, 246). Poems, pp. 156*b*, 159*a*; BYRON'S TRAGEDY, III, i, 2.
- Smoke (vb. = suspect or detect, III, vi, 112; IV, i, 31). BYRON'S CONSPIRACY, II, i, 16; 4th Odyssey, 338.
- Soundness (I, ii, 24). CHARLEMAGNE, V, iii, 96.
- Spark (= gay youth: II, i, 25, 41). Frequent in Chapman: ALL FOOLS, II, i, 46; MAY-DAY, V, i, 90; WIDOW'S TEARS, I, i, 166.
- Sword-men (II, i, 62). Chapman has 'sword-man': 18th Iliad, 147.
- Tax (sb. II, i, 173) = taxation = accusation. Chapman uses both the verb *tax* and the noun *taxation* in those senses, though I do not recall the noun *tax*, in this sense, in his works.
- Threateningly (II, iii, 87). 15th Iliad, 320.
- Tile (IV, iii, 217). Tiles: D'OLIVE, II, ii, 84; Tiled, GOOSECAP, III, i, 90.
- Tolerable (II, iii, 213). Poems, p. 55*a*.
- Transcendence (II, iii, 40). I have not noted the noun; but Chapman so often uses the verb *transcend*, and the adjective *transcendent*, that it may reasonably be assigned to him. He uses, for instance, *fervence* and *fervency* as well as *fervour*.
- Underminers (I, i, 131). 20th Iliad, 276. *Undermine* is used figuratively in 10th Iliad, 293. See above, p. 54*n*, as to the collocation with "blowers-up."
- Vileness (II, iii, 136). GENTLEMAN USHER, V, iv, 197.

To the list of words occurring only in ALL'S WELL in the Concordance there should be added, further, a note of several which, occurring here and in one or two other places, raise in the other place the same kind

of question, or can be accounted for as merely later uses. Such words are:—

1. Musics (III, vii, 40). This noteworthy plural occurs elsewhere in the plays only in CYMBELINE, II, iii, 44. It is not so given in the Globe edition, but is so printed in the Folio. When it is noted that Chapman uses it at least thrice (HERO AND LEANDER, iii, 14; Hom. Hymn to Apollo, Poems, p. 281a; D'OLIVE, I, i, 26), there arises a surmise of his presence where it occurs, and in the present case that surmise is well borne-out.
2. Real (v, iii, 307). This word, latterly so common, occurs in the Concordance only in A LOVER'S COMPLAINT, and in CORIOLANUS, a late play. As I have noted elsewhere, the N.E.D. gives no instance before 1599; but the word occurs frequently in Reginald Scot's DISCOVERIE OF WITCHCRAFT, 1584, and at least in the 1596 ed. of Carew's translation of Huarte's EXAMEN (1574). It probably came in from the "real presence" of theology. Since in Chapman we find it at least six times (also *really*, twice, and *reality*) it is here reasonably to be assigned to him, if the reader agrees to assign to him the COMPLAINT.
3. Rational (I, i, 139). Occurs elsewhere only in the composite LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST ("the rational hind Costard") where Chapman is either present or caricatured. The word is common in his works: I have noted six instances.
4. Sithence (I, iii, 124). Also in CORIOLANUS. Used by Chapman, TWO WISE MEN, VII, i.
5. Verbal (v, iii, 137). Found also in LEAR and CYMBELINE. Common in Chapman: I have noted seven instances.
6. Causeless (II, iii, 3). Occurs elsewhere in the Folio only in two non-Shakespearean plays—TITUS and 1 HENRY VI. Used by Chapman, CÆSAR AND POMPEY, III, ii, 54.
7. Artists (II, iii, 10). Used elsewhere only in TROILUS and PERICLES, in both of which there is strong ground for surmising the presence of Chapman. With him it is rather a common word: Poems, pp. 150, 159, 342; 4th Od. 826; 23rd Iliad, 289.
8. Authentic (II, iii, 14). Also found elsewhere only in two plays apparently handled by Chapman (TROILUS and MERRY WIVES), and common in his plays and poems. I have noted eight instances, including uses of "authenticall." He uses it, too, in a peculiar fashion, with the force of 'authoritative'—D'OLIVE, III, i, 22; 1st vers. of 2nd Iliad: "Autentique Nestor." Such is the force of "the authentic fellows" in our play.

9. Debosh'd (II, iii, 145; V, iii, 206). Found only in the late plays, *LEAR* and *CORIOLANUS*. The spelling *debosh'd* appears to be a late form. Chapman has both *debauch'd* and *debaucht* (*BYRON'S TRAGEDY*, V, iii, 25; 1st *Odyssey*, 634, 22nd Od. 587). In this connexion, it may be remarked that the multitude of vocabulary clues common to *ALL'S WELL*, *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*, *LEAR*, *CORIOLANUS*, the *TEMPEST* and *CYMBELINE* raise insistent questions of Chapman's intervention at some stage in these later plays, in different degrees. On the other hand, lack of instances from Chapman of once-used words necessarily involves the leaving open of the question whether a third hand has intervened, as Mr. Dugdale Sykes claims to have been the case in *TIMON*—where, indeed, he assigns wholly to Middleton, not unplausibly, matter that I had assigned to Chapman.

Where words occur in other plays, obviously, the inference is relatively weak; but that Shakespeare, writing independently, should by mere chance have used once, and once only, all the above - noted words of Chapman's in one play, will be admitted to be an extremely unlikely thing. The logic of chance is indeed precarious; but common-sense will here acknowledge some ground for inference of special causation. Dr. Chambers seems to have seen as much in the case of *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*,¹ for in his Academy lecture he thus deals with the issue:—

The relation of Shakespeare's maturer diction to Chapman's is a problem of a somewhat different kind [from that as to the pre-Shakespeare men]. There is not much point in a controversy as to which was the greater neologist. *They both innovate freely*, and apparently in much the same manner; and, as far as I know, Shakespeare at least was not likely to have had any scruple about using neologisms not of his own mintage. If he borrowed his plots, why should he not borrow his words? Nobody would suppose that he could not mint them fast enough, if he wanted to. It certainly does not move me to be told that Chapman must have worked over a scene, because it contains words not found elsewhere in Shakespeare, but found half a dozen times in Chapman. The oftener Chapman used a word, the more likely it was to stick in Shakespeare's memory.

This is but a hand-to-mouth treatment of a complicated question, and as such consorts imperfectly with

¹ See Part II of *The Shakespeare Canon*, pp. 184-204.

a previous demand that such inquiries in other cases should be conducted "upon a general and disinterested method rather than along the casual lines of advance opened up by the pursuit of an author for this or that suspected or anonymous play". Dr. Chambers is all for comprehensive investigations so long as he does not have to make them. But if such investigations are essential to sound conclusions it is unfortunate that he should always conclude without them. In the Chapman case he does not even make the special investigation presupposed by his own pronouncement. When he asserts that in word-making both Chapman and Shakespeare "innovate freely, and apparently in much the same manner," he speaks as one of the irresponsible critics of his frequent denunciation. The proposition is sadly astray. The absolute neologisms in the Folio may be counted on the fingers of one hand: one of them, "unsisting," is a possible misprint, and several of the others are implicated in the Chapman question.¹ In Chapman, the neologisms are in comparison as a hundred to one. Elsewhere I have given a sample list of his peculiar terms, not all of them neologisms, but many apparently so; and to that list I am prepared to add another hundred. When Dr. Chambers produces a similar list of fifty from the Folio, a "controversy as to which was the greater neologist" may be worth while. It is certainly idle as obtruded by him after pronouncing it otiose.

The concrete issue is this: Do the two plays² MEASURE FOR MEASURE and ALL'S WELL, in respect of their numerous uses, never repeated in the Folio, of words used by Chapman in his signed works, tell of mere adoption by Shakespeare of words seen (or heard) by him in Chapman's writings, or do they rather yield the inference that we are here dealing with Chapman drafts over which Shakespeare has worked, retaining

¹ The "oneyers," 1 *Henry IV*, II, i, 85, given up by the glossarists, I have shown to be the old "wonniers" = residents. I have not seen the matter discussed on that head.

² *Troilus* and the *Merry Wives* are also implicated, but may here be left out of the question.

many particulars of vocabulary as well as many usual terms? This issue Dr. Chambers merely obscures by arguing that "the oftener Chapman used a word, the more likely it was to stick in Shakespeare's memory." Let us take the above list of *once-used* words in ALL'S WELL. Some of them, so far as I have noted, appear in Chapman only *after* the date assigned by Dr. Chambers to the play. "Consolate" I have found only in the *Odyssey*; "boggle" only in the 10th *Iliad*; the verb "in" only in the version of Hesiod. Other words appear in plays of Chapman not published at the period in question. It was certainly not as being "often" used in print by Chapman that they "stuck in Shakespeare's memory"; and if it be suggested that he may have heard Chapman use them in talk, the answer is that Dr. Chambers has expressly barred such modes of hypothesis.

A really "comprehensive" view of the problem would involve the connotation, with vocabulary, of phraseology. I have cited "desperate languishings whereof the King is render'd lost" as a special sample of Chapmanese phrasing. The "is render'd" circumlocution is frequent in the *Odyssey*; and it occurs in the version of Musæus (1616). I have not noted it in the earlier poems or plays. Supposing, however, that Shakespeare *had* heard or seen it in Chapman, does it become a plausible inference that a mania for experiment would drive him to use such diction, bringing in Chapman's feeble noun "languishings", in a serious play? Can any one but Dr. Chambers detect *any* element of "profit" in the use of such phrasing, or in the Chapmanese preciousness:

And what impossibility would slay
In common sense, sense saves another way

—? I doubt whether even he will thus commit himself in detail, however he may elusively expand in generalities about "stylistic elements" with which Shakespeare might "experiment." I suppose he would account in that fashion for the use of Chapman's "split infinitive" in *Julius Cæsar*. But those who see the fault in

such generalising in disregard of the concrete issues will perhaps agree that modern "common sense" dictates the inference, both as to phraseology and vocabulary, that in ALL'S WELL we are scanning a Chapman draft which Shakespeare has but trimmed.

When we come to such words as "musics" and "rational," which do occur in other plays in the Folio, it is obviously arguable that they are not confidently to be assigned to Chapman. It might even be argued that he borrowed them from Shakespeare, did not "musics" occur in an early Chapman line of HERO AND LEANDER. But if we will take a really "comprehensive" view, we shall recognise that the *concurrence* of so many Chapman clues of different kinds in a play so hard in itself to conceive of as a product of Shakespeare's maturity, sets the balance of presumption heavily against the canonical tradition. And when the same concurrence of marks—vocabulary, diction, versification, plot, ideation, and sentiment—is found in the "companion-play" of MEASURE FOR MEASURE, the pressure of the evidence becomes stronger still. When all is said, even Dr. Chambers exhibits misgivings, despite his confident commitments to the "bitter comedy" formula, which makes Shakespeare handle "noble" womanhood pessimistically in a play in which he idly trifles with clowneries.

He has, however, raised yet another objection; and to that we will now advert.

VII. BIOGRAPHICAL PROBABILITIES

In his capacity of gamekeeper, whether conscious or oblivious of bygone poaching, Dr. Chambers is very rigorous towards all imaginative exploration. Himself prone to fantasy, he holds towards the theories of others what Greene calls a "canicular aspect." All other men's hypotheses are "guess-work"; his own (shockingly bad) guess that the COMEDY OF ERRORS was originally

called *THE JEALOUS COMEDY*, he obtrudes many times over. Meeting with my hypothesis that Shakespeare was likely to see in Chapman a man worth helping, he austerey decides that "this little fantasy would have evoked comment even in the pages of the more sentimental biographers." 'Tis like: they might more naturally take to Dr. Chambers's exquisitely sentimental theory of "bitter comedy" emanating from a "once sunny spirit" darkened by prosperity. Still, there is something to be said for the view that the poet, having many symptoms of humanity and generosity, might be willing to do a good turn to an ill-starred and constitutionally disgruntled man of letters who wrote plays for a living, and who was likely to be recommended to him by their common patron, Southampton.

The hypothesis, be it noted, is suggested by the apparent fact that Chapman *did* do various jobs for Shakespeare's company, the interlude in the *TEMPEST* being one, and the revision of the play-scene in *HAMLET*, as above noted, another. Dr. Chambers, however, will have none of it.

"I find it difficult [he writes, pp. 14-15], to fit this employment of Chapman by Shakespeare's company into the probabilities of literary history. We know a good deal about Chapman, at any rate from about 1596, when he begins to appear in Henslowe's diary. He wrote, or began to write, seven plays for the Admiral's men during the next three years, of which two were published, and one was a considerable financial success. And he is conspicuous in Henslowe's motley crew as the one who held most aloof from anything in the way of collaboration. The only exception is a play which he undertook, but quite possibly never finished, on a plot by Ben Jonson. About 1599 he drops out of Henslowe's record, and *the next decade is covered by a long series of nine plays*, all of which were published, for the boy companies. One of these was written by [with?] Jonson and Marston. Thereafter, so far as we know, Chapman abandoned stage-writing, and devoted himself to his translation of Homer and to other non-dramatic work. In 1613, however, he did a mask for the Princess Elizabeth's wedding¹. . . . But Chapman was evidently a successful writer from 1596 onwards. He is one

¹ Dr. Chambers here goes on to put it as "conceivable" that "in Caroline days" Chapman may have lent a hand to Shirley. To say nothing of *The Ball*, this is a surprising way of dealing with *The Admiral of France*, which is certainly Chapman's in the main.

of the seven lauded by Webster in 1612. And it does not seem to me likely, on *à priori* grounds, that he would have needed Shakespeare's patronage for an introduction to the company; that no work done by him for them would have reached publication; that his temper would have submitted to a constant revision by Shakespeare; or that, if his work proved unsatisfactory, the company would have continued the experiment over half a dozen plays."

Against these alleged improbabilities, let us first consider a few high probabilities which Dr. Chambers's biographical research has overlooked or ignored. He makes one prick up one's ears by his announcement that "we know a good deal about Chapman, at any rate from about 1596"; but all he gives us is the list of plays, without even exact dates for them. And if we turn to the period which specially concerns us, the decade from 1599, and proceed to ask what is meant by saying that is "covered by a long series of nine plays," we realise that, like most English literary historians, Dr. Chambers makes small account of the economic side of things. If all we knew of Chapman was the list of his plays, we should know little of him indeed. And little we know when all is said. But we do know, from himself,¹ that about the year 1609 he felt that he was born

To want and sorrow, and the vulgar's scorn ;
and that by his writings he

makes weeds for [his] soul to wear,
As out of fashion as the body's are.

To set against that the blank allegation that the writer was "evidently a successful writer from 1596 onwards," as if that meant monetary success, is to write biography in a very fallacious fashion. We should not, indeed, take a poet's lamentations as necessarily exact statements; and when we find Chapman writing at the end of his EPICEDUM² the epigram:

¹ *The Tears of Peace*; Poems, p. 115a.

² So placed in Shepherd's edition. It was added, with the epitaph on Prince Henry, to the Homer Folio.

Ad Famam

To all times future this time's mark extend :
Homer no patron found, Chapman no friend,

after dedicating the poem to "my affectionate and true friend, Mr. Henry Jones"—to say nothing of his avowals of friendly intercourse with Jonson, Harriots, Stapilton, Field, Roydon and Hughes—we must admit that he could exaggerate, in statement as in style. But no such qualifications, I think, can get rid of the fact that Chapman was, as he repeatedly says, always a poor man.¹

The very testimony of Henslowe's diary, to which Dr. Chambers appeals, shows him requiring advances on the plays he was writing. If that is not a sign of shortness of funds, where the payments were so small, there is nothing in circumstantial evidence. Chapman collaborated little because of his superior attitude to the ordinary craftsmen; but that did not mean that he was well-to-do. He may have made some little money by his *Homer*, of which he published portions in 1598 and 1609: but he expressly writes² of contemporary critics as "being afraid to affirm any good of poor poesy, since no man gets any goods by it." Spenser's career would seem to bear him out, as do the panegyric lines on Chapman by John Davies of Hereford in his *SCOURGE OF FOLLY* (1611), which expressly affirm Chapman's poverty:—

In that rank [of 'rarest men'] I put thee in the front,
Especially of poets of account,
Who art the treasurer of that company;
But in thy hand too little coin doth lie;
For of all arts that now in London are,
Poets get least in uttering of their ware.

Such lines may indeed be said to represent Chapman as in one sense "successful," but they expressly negate Dr. Chambers's inference; and Chapman himself, in the

¹ Poem *To M. Harriots*; Ded. of *Musaëus*; *Tears of Peace*; Poem *For Stay in Competence*; Ep. Ded. to first twelve books of the *Odyssey*.

² Note to his version of the *Odyssey*, xii, 16.

dedication of his version of Musæus to Inigo Jones (1616), declared of the "mistaking world" that "[its] left hand ever received what I gave with my right." If Dr. Chambers can explain to us, in the light of his avowal that the normal price paid by the companies in that period for a play was £6, how Chapman could have supported himself through a decade by a mere "long series of nine plays," he would be doing something more substantial than penning generalities about "success" and representing Chapman as a prosperous writer who did not need "patronage." Like most of the men of his age who lived by writing, he needed it badly. In the dedicatory epistle to Somerset, with his issue (1614) of the first twelve books of the *Odyssey*, he writes:

Twelve labours of your Thespian Hercules
 I now present your lordship: do but please
To lend life means till th' other twelve receive
 Equal achievement, and let death then reave
 My life now lost in our patrician loves
 That knock heads with the herd.

Other patrons, he implies at the outset, had wholly failed him. In the total absence of any evidence that he had any means of support save his plays, his poems, and his patrons' gifts, it is just as reasonable to say that he was likely to do adaptations and other jobs for Shakespeare's company as it is absurd to represent him as flourishing on £5 per annum.

I have elsewhere argued that Marlowe, concerning whom some writers seriously doubt whether he can have done twelve plays in his six years, *must* have done nearer four-and-twenty to support himself. The money values of the Elizabethan age, so often extravagantly overstated, were certainly not such that any man could be passing rich on twenty pounds a year in London. I know that Dr. Herford counts such "economic" considerations alien to the history of literature; but a little common-sense may be helpfully brought to bear even in that field. Dr. Chambers and Dr. Herford, we have seen, "could be doing with it" at times.

The objections last above cited from Dr. Chambers are still more inconclusive than the others. My proposition is that *ALL'S WELL* and *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*, like the *MERRY WIVES* and *TROILUS*, were recasts of old plays for Shakespeare's company. To reply that it is unlikely that such work would fail to "reach publication" is to cavil very idly. In the terms of the case the plays were but adaptations of old plays already well known; and the adapter would not want to publish them, especially after they had been revised, and one partly rewritten, by Shakespeare. Getting his money down for them, he would have nothing to do with Shakespeare's revision; and his temper would not be a factor in the case. As for the number of plays over which the company "continued the experiment," it is hard to see the point of the argument. There is no reason to doubt that *ALL'S WELL* and *MEASURE FOR MEASURE* had a fair stage success; *PERICLES* (in which I have sought to show Chapman's hand) apparently had, over a long period; though *TIMON*, if ever played, probably had not. The adapted *MERRY WIVES* was likely to run; and the *SHREW*, on which Chapman may have latterly worked, certainly "drew" well in many periods. Where then does the cavil apply? That the interlude in the *TEMPEST* was not the only later piece of work done by Chapman for the King's men may perhaps be shown at a later stage of this inquiry.

If it seriously shocks Dr. Chambers's sense of probability (nourished by such speculations as his theory about the original title of the *ERRORS* and his theory of *Helena*) to suggest that Shakespeare could play a benevolent part in his period of "bitter comedy," that disturbing hypothesis might for the purposes of the general argument be dropped as quasi-"sentimental"—though between Dr. Chambers's professed horror of sentiment and Dr. Herford's dislike of economics it is difficult to steer a quite "safe" course. The main argument does not strictly require it. Of the plays named, it is *TIMON* and *MEASURE FOR MEASURE* and

ALL'S WELL that most strike me as having given Shakespeare trying work in revision. But when I find Dr. Chambers supposing himself to found a general argument against the likelihood of such recasts as I have been positing, by noting (p. 21) that "*Henslowe's* record bears very little testimony to any *widespread* practice of revising plays upon revival, and still less to any literary recasting of the whole substance of revived plays," I confess I am not acutely concerned to compromise with him.

He does not, he says, "overlook the possible difference in methods between Shakespeare's company and the Admiral's." But that is precisely what he does. He overlooks in his cavilling, that is to say, the cardinal fact that Shakespeare's company had in him what no other company possessed—a gifted member who could revise for them any play that came into their hands, lending to other men's work new qualities of beauty and strength where he would or could, pruning redundances, and rewriting or planing down Chapmanese rhodomontade as he rewrote most of Kyd's HAMLET, by Dr. Chambers's own confession. The virtual overlooking of all this is of a piece with the fashion of writing literary history which in a voluminous record of the Elizabethan Stage never once hints that at a certain point that drama begins to be wholly and rapidly remade by the introduction of blank-verse. A caviller who will not take account of what Shakespeare counted for as a play-reviser for his company is not readily to be deferred to when he refuses to take account of Shakespeare as a man, trimming another man's comedies not in bitterness but in good-fellowship. The fashion of deducing a man's biography from the Stationers' Register does not indicate much stress of research in such matters.

Towards the end of Dr. Chambers's lecture, the cavilling becomes so flagrantly inconclusive that it is not surprising to find it suddenly dropped, even upon as unexpectedly benevolent conclusion. This let me feebly cap by avowing that the careful study of all the

cavils has usefully confirmed me in the opinions against which they were directed, which is really something to be grateful for.

VIII. EXCURSUS ON CHAPMAN'S DISPUTED PLAYS

The student will have noted that in our word-list from ALL'S WELL several instances are supplied from "Two Wise Men and all the Rest Fools," the prose Interlude published anonymously in 1619 and assigned long afterwards to Chapman, on the strength of tradition, by Kirkman (1661),¹ Winstanley (1687), and Langbaine (1691).

Printed by Shepherd in the volume of Poems, but pronounced by Swinburne non-genuine, this piece has also been rejected by other authorities, in whose decision I have hitherto acquiesced, without attempting any investigation. Fleay, making no mention of the ascription to Chapman, treats it simply as an anonymous play by an unknown author, dwelling on the probability that the presentment of the usurer Antonio is an attack on Anthony Munday. Ward² sees no reason whatever for accepting the doubtful ascription to Chapman; and Dr. Chambers, without going so far, leaves the authorship uncertain.³ As he does the same with CHARLEMAGNE, of which Professor Schoell appears to me to prove Chapman's authorship clearly, the case of the TWO WISE MEN may usefully be reconsidered.

It is a natural guess that Winstanley and Langbaine, or those who passed on to them the tradition, were led to assign the piece to Chapman either by confusing it with his comedy ALL FOOLS, or by inference from that title. But seeing that Chapman was well-known to have written ALL FOOLS, it would have been just as natural for others to point out that the two pieces were entirely

¹ This I gather only from Dr. Chambers, *Eliz. Stage*, iii, 260.

² *Eng. Dram. Lit.*, ii, 447.

³ *Eliz. Stage*, as cited.

different; and there is no trace of any such dispute. Nor is there any *a priori* ground for assuming that Chapman would not thus manipulate one of his own titles.

The ground generally given for denying his authorship is that an Interlude of this archaic form is out of his way. "It is difficult to believe," writes Swinburne, "that this voluminous dialogue on social questions can have been the work of any practised or professional dramatist."¹ Such an argument overlooks the point that the Prologus expressly avows a reversion to an old form. The negative argument is of the same kind as that which denies *SIR CLYOMON* to Peele. In both cases the negation *may* prove to be correct, but it cannot be for the reason given. A professional writer was *not* more unlikely than anyone else to revert to an old form, long popular and not unlikely to have some vogue in revival. Nor is there any good warrant for Swinburne's confident incredulity over the statement on the title-page that the piece had been "diverse times acted." Elizabethan taste took many forms; and the theme and manner of Greene's dialogue between Cloth-Breeches and Velvet-Breeches, which is in this key, seem to have been rather popular. Such a piece as this might have its own audiences, and might sell when printed.

The proper tests of authorship in this case, surely, are (given an avowed reversion to an archaic mode) those of style, matter, sentiment, diction and vocabulary. There is no other claimant to the authorship; and it is easy to understand that Chapman might prefer to withhold his name from the title-page even if he printed the piece. It was not a thing likely to win him any literary credit; and if it be, as Swinburne and Fleay infer, partly an attack on actual persons,² that is no reason for denying it to Chapman, whose express disclaiming of

¹ Essay on Chapman in Shepherd's ed. of Poems, p. xxxii. The fact that the piece is in seven Acts counts for little. As Fleay points out, four of the Acts are properly to be put as two.

² The name "Pohssib" is obviously an anagram of "Bishop."

any attack on "worthy persons" rather implies that he would not scruple to pillory the unworthy.¹ In that case, he might choose to be anonymous.

Granted that the piece as a whole does not *prima facie* suggest Chapman, we have to remember the marked differences in aspect between the various forms of his signed work. The comedies are in style remarkably different in the main from the tragedies (apart from their comedy scenes), and all alike from the poems. Had all the plays of Chapman been lost save *THE WIDOW'S TEARS*, it would have been hard to believe that that came from the pen of the author of *THE TEARS OF PEACE* and the translation of Homer. The question for us here should be: if Chapman *did* write a "moral" Interlude, reverting to an old fashion and seeking to be old-fashioned,² what sort of thing was it likely to be? In the comedies, by Swinburne's admission, the style is generally as simple and transpicuous as in the tragedies it is apt to be otherwise. Chapman then *could* be vernacular and easily intelligible when he chose to be so for popular purposes.

Now, the style of *TWO WISE MEN* is noticeably fluent, and in this respect *does* suggest a practised and *not* an unprofessional pen. Chapman in his comedies can be as simply fluent as in his tragedies and translations he is turgidly so. His prose sentences can be as "pervial" as his serious verse sentences can be involved. At times the interlude comes exactly under the label of "burlesque declamation" applied by Swinburne to some of Chapman's work; and what is more, the matter points to him. The campaign against the abolition of old Holy-days would come very naturally from the antagonist of the "innovating Puritan."³ "In the strong coarse satire on female Puritanism," Swinburne grudgingly writes, "those who will may discern touches which recall the tone if not the handiwork of the author of *AN HUMOUROUS DAY'S MIRTH*." And those who will

¹ See above p. 29 n.

² Compare the lines above cited as to work "out of fashion" done by him about 1609.

³ *Revenge of Bussy*, I, i, 349.

may thus *at* will make light of a plain clue, which for an open-minded inquirer should have its fair force. The "satire on female Puritanism" has very much the aspect of a special mood of Chapman. It is not merely a matter of touches: it is an entire coincidence of attitude, with a necessary difference in detail; and the account of an Amsterdam sermon in scene i is equally akin to the matter of scene ii of Act II of D'OLIVE; while the discourse of the page on tobacco (III, ii) points still more insistently to that of D'Olive in the comedy.

But there is a more pervading clue to Chapman in the diction and vocabulary. In the Prologus we come on one of his participial plurals, "advisings"; and words that are habitual with him occur in almost every scene. It is not merely a matter of absolute duplication of a peculiar phrase such as "spiced-conscienced" (Two WISE MEN, IV, i; ANDROMEDA: Poems, p, 1876): there is a continuous suggestion of his special vocabulary and his habit of neologism. On the latter head may be cited "ex(s)ufflations and insufflations" (III, iv), which seems to give a cue to "exsufflicate" in OTHELLO, III, iii, 182, one of the few ostensible neologisms in the Folio. But a list of words and phrases from the Interlude which are actually affected by Chapman, or which suggest his habit of word-making, will I think be admitted by careful students to go a long way towards identifying him. Such are:—

Action and faction; of good expectation; annexed to; the outside of this enigmatical proposition; encomions and epithets of commendation; his perplexity is in that case very hardly dissolved; tincture and impression applied; egregiously; demonstrate; credibly reported; corporate brother; associate; exploded (=discredited); pliant; docible; historiographers; appeach; refelled; transcendent ventosity; odoriferous; audibility; anatomized; scrupulosity; stark; apt; apter; aptly; complimentary terms; voluntary (mus.); salutiferous operation; reverberations; correspondence; unreasonable (twice); detriment; deprave; unspeakable; circumspect; outward personage; procreation (twice); documents (=lessons); reputed; appropriated; *congees* (twice); caper; impositions; oppugn; pestiferous; singular; choleric; new-devised; corporation; money-monger; alacrity (twice); de-

generous; tennis (vb.); underminest; animater; *infernals*; institutions; household stuff;¹ reversion; vendible; contagious caterpillars; cormorants; provender (thrice); judicially; reprehend; encounterers; eradicating; *epitheton* of courtesy; distracted; sequestered continency; dogged woman (cp. 19th Odyssey, 508; and Georgics of Hesiod: Poems, p. 213a).

It may suffice to add, as a special clue to Chapman, the spellings of certain words in part of the talk of Rustico in Act II, sc. i. Much of the talk of the same personage is in normal English; but suddenly he is made to utter rusticisms and words so spelt as to indicate that the author reckoned that pronunciation illiterate. Thus we have:—

shud we—wood not—it wood—tauk—it cood.

Now, Chapman repeatedly, in his translations, gives us such rhymes as *could* and *behold*, *would* and *gold*, *would* and *mould*, *calves* and *salves*, *palm* and *elm*; peculiarities which seem to connect him either actively or passively with the passages in LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST (v, i) in which Holofernes prescribes the sounding of *l* in *calf*, and of *b* in *debt*.²

The evidence thus indicated is certainly not conclusive; but evidence it is; and there is surely some significance in the fact that several of the once-used words in ALL'S WELL, like so many more in the

¹ I have noted ten instances of the adjective "household" in Chapman.

² If, as there seems to be some reason to think, it is mainly from Chapman's practice of rhyming *could* and *would* to such words as *hold* and *fold*, in his translations, that some authorities have inferred that to be the rule at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the proposition would seem to call for challenge. Are we to infer that the Elizabethans in general pronounced 'thought' *thoft*, and 'taught' *taft*, because Chapman rhymes the former with 'aloft' and the latter with 'craft' (Poems: p. 211b, 197a)? as he rhymes 'slaughter' with 'laughter' (Poems: p. 168a)? The rhyme of "through" and "enough," doubtless, points to the pronunciation "enow"; but a written *f* seems to be decisive of an *f* sound. There may have been survivals of the guttural, still heard in Scots in *thocht* and *dochter*, and *wricht* and *wrocht*; and in the usual pronunciations of the place-names Keighley and Dolgelly we find that guttural modified to 'th'. But that 'taught' was ever sounded 'taft' seems outside probability. And, in view of the extreme difficulty of supposing the 'l's' to have been sounded on the stage in

Wake Duncan with thy knocking! would thou could'st!

one is inclined to regard the whole question as a mystification arising out of a mania of Chapman's,—glanced at, by him or another, in *Love's Labour's Lost*. When, one asks, was the *l* commonly sounded in *half*? Or the *b* in doubt without a vowel between, as Holofernes demands? Chapman was a man of fads, who persisted in writing *choosed*, *strived*, and *freesed*, when others said *chose*, *strove*, and *froze*.

accepted works of Chapman, crop up in the piece under consideration. The question certainly calls for more consideration than it has received.

A similar question arises over the tragedy *REVENGE FOR HONOUR*, which, published as Chapman's in 1654, has also been generally denied to be of his writing. The piece was published in 1654 by R. Marriott as written by Chapman, after the same publisher had entered it in the Stationers' Register in 1653 as *THE PARASIDE*, or *REVENGE FOR HONOUR*, by Henry Glapthorne,—a plainly suspicious circumstance. Fleay, identifying the play with a *PARRICIDE* licensed in 1624, disallowed the ascription to Chapman, but on the question-begging ground that Chapman had ceased to write for the stage in 1608.

On much stronger grounds, Chapman is denied all share in the play by Professor Parrott, who adopts the results of a careful investigation by Dr. D. L. Thomas (*Modern Philology*, 1908), who finds in the piece marked parallelism to passages in the published work of Glapthorne. On the other hand, the rate of double-endings in Glapthorne's plays is admittedly much lower than that found in *REVENGE FOR HONOUR*. Professor Parrott, noting that Glapthorne may like other writers have increased his rate, offers the solution that the play is a late adaptation of the *PARRICIDE* of 1624, which he assigns to some unknown imitator of Fletcher; there being, as Dr. Stoll has shown, notable parallels between the action of the play and the Beaumont and Fletcher play, *CUPID'S REVENGE*, produced in 1612.

Swinburne, who rejected the *TWO WISE MEN*, was in this case disposed to accept the assignment to Chapman, though he speaks hesitatingly, and finds almost as much unlikeness as likeness to Chapman in the piece. The matter is of no great importance; but it is fair to suppose that the publisher must have had *some* ground for ascribing the play to Chapman after having described it as by Glapthorne; and though that ground may just have been the discovery of the resemblances to Chapman which have obtruded themselves on me, it may be worth while to indicate them for what they

are worth. The most puzzling aspect of the problem is that certain passages which seem to point to Chapman are also paralleled in Glapthorne.

Professor Parrott, however, seems to me to strain the argument when he says that the departures in the play from the history as given in Knolles' *HISTORY OF THE TURKS* (1603) are alien to the practice of Chapman. Surely Chapman takes large liberties with his authorities in all his French tragedies. By Professor Parrott's own account, the *REVENGE OF BUSSY* is an "extraordinary wresting of the facts of history." The correspondences between the piece and Fulke Greville's *MUSTAPHA AND ALAHAM* suggest to me that a play of 1624 in which Chapman had a large share may have been handled not only by Glapthorne but by some other dramatist.

The main reasons for doubting Chapman's authorship, it seems to me, are (1) the excessive proportion of double-endings, and (2) the relative frequency of weak-endings, in the versification. The former are so numerous that the economical way to reckon the play would be to count the single-ending lines, which are the minority. But, as we have seen, this does not make for the Glapthorne hypothesis; and, after all, the phenomenon would be a not unnatural development in Chapman's case, assuming his work here to be late. His proportion of double-endings is already very high in his early tragedies, and even in *D'OLIVE*; and it is still higher in *CHABOT*, where his hand is clear. That he should come, in the age of Fletcher and Shirley, to make the double-ended line his normal form, is not incredible. And the weak-endings are in the same case. There are some in the earlier tragedies, and they multiply in *CHABOT*.

When Professor Parrott states that "the diction, general style, and versification of *REVENGE FOR HONOUR* are as different from the genuine work of Chapman as can well be imagined," he appears to me to overstate his case greatly, though I entirely agree with him as to *ALPHONSUS*. In many places in the *REVENGE* both

matter and style, diction and vocabulary, seem to me to suggest Chapman much more than Glapthorne. As Swinburne noted, Caropia is first cousin to the Tamyra of Bussy. Further, Abilqualit's point of honour is Bussy's. The villain brother is the match of Monsieur in Bussy. The rhetoric is often Chapmanesque; and there are many sentiments that strongly smack of him. Caropia's lines (iv, ii, end):

I must use craft and mystery. Dissembling
Is held the natural quality of our sex,

echo the Friar's speech in Bussy, II, ii, 176; and Caropia's

Of what frail temper is a woman's weakness!
Words writ in water have more lasting essence
Than our determinations (v, ii, 156-8)

is a near variant of Tamyra's

What shall weak dames do, when the whole work of nature
Hath a strong finger in each one of us?
Needs must that sweep away the silly cobweb
Of our still-undone labours.

Equally close is the literary kinship of Abilqualit's lines (I, 333):

Besides, it is unlawful. Idle fool,
There is no law but what's prescribed by love,
Nature's first moving organ; *nor can aught*
That Nature dictates to us be held vicious.
On, then, my soul, and destitute of fears,
Like an *adventurous mariner* that knows
Storms must attend him, yet dares court his peril,
Strive to obtain this happy port—

with (a) the often-quoted outburst of Byron (CONSPIRACY, III, end) which, after the figure of the "rapt ship" in the lusty wind, concludes:

There is no danger to a man that knows
What life and death is: *there's not any law*
Exceeds his knowledge; *neither is it lawful*
That he should stoop to any other law.
He goes before them, and commands them all,
That to himself is a law rational;

and (b) with the lines in the USHER (IV, ii, 134):—

Are not the laws of God and Nature more
Than formal laws of men . . . ?
Or shall laws made to curb the common world
Hurt them that are a law unto themselves?

and, yet again (c), with these in BUSSY (II, i, 201-4):—

Be you my King,
And do a right exceeding law and nature:
Who to himself is law, no law doth need,
Offends no law, and is a King indeed!

The writer of the passage in REVENGE FOR HONOUR is either Chapman or his zealous imitator.

When Professor Parrott further affirms that

“There is no trace in this play of Chapman's pedantic choice of words and deliberate obscurity of expression, of his large and full-mouth'd rhetoric, of his elaborate and often magnificent imagery,”

I must again demur.

“The diction and style of this play point,” he claims, “like its choice of subject and technic of composition, to a writer of the new school, a poet who sought for clearness of speech, simplicity of construction, and fanciful rather than imaginative imagery. *Only in his fondness for similes* does the author of the REVENGE approach Chapman; and his similes are for the most part briefer and more properly dramatic than Chapman's. They lack the elaboration and epic expansion of the older writer's.”

I submit that this is special pleading. Simplification of tragic style would be forced on Chapman if he returned to the stage in his latter years: and nobody knows better than Professor Parrott how simple he *could* be in *comedy*. But is there really any difference of style in the extracts above given, of which the planes of ideation are identical?

As to the points of pedantry, obscurity and “elaboration,” let the reader consider a speech of a dozen lines taken almost at random from the REVENGE:—

Almanzor. Thy words are still oraculous.
Mura. Pray then think
With what an easy toil the haughty Prince,
A demigod by th' popular acclamations,

Nay, the world's sovereign in the vulgar wishes,
 Had he a resolution to be wicked,
 Might snatch this diadem from your aged temples.
 What law so holy, tie of blood so mighty,
 Which, *for a crown*,¹ minds sanctified and religious
Have not presum'd to violate? How much more, then,
 May the soul-dazzling glories of a sceptre
 Work in his youth, whose constitution's fiery
 As over-heated air, and has, to fan it
 Into a flame, the breath of love and praises
 Blown by strong thought of his own worth and actions.

In the very first line we have a Chapmanese word, *oraculous*, and in this play it occurs twice. Other words with his stamp are *fervence*, *certes* (dissyl.), *black* = blacken; *concupiscential* strongly suggests him; and in the more normal vocabulary are a large number of words characteristic of him, as: corporal, corporeal, immoderate, ceremonious, eminent, masculine, religious, contagious, particular, bashful (*thrice*), softness (*thrice*), mortality (*thrice*), licentious, a perspective, pureness (as well as *purity*—a Chapman habit in variants). The vocabulary of the play, no less than the rhetoric and the sentiments, thus sets up such frequent reminiscences of him that we are entitled to say much of it is either his or the work of one steeped in his diction and sentiment. The pedantry which Professor Parrott declares to be absent is flagrantly present here:—

Selintus. First the cause, then,
 From whence this *flatus hypochondriacus*,
 This glimmering of the gizzard (for in wild fowl
 'Tis termed so by Hippocrates) arises,
 Is, as Averroës and Avicen
 With Abenbucar, Baruch, and Aboffi,
 And all the Arabic writers have affirm'd,
 A mere defect, that is, as we interpret,
 A want of—.

And, to say nothing of the trick of specifying a woman's "beauties" in the plural, I would remind the editor of Chapman that one of the repeated obscenities in this play is similarly repeated in AN HUMOUROUS DAY'S MIRTH.

¹ A quite Chapmanese construction.

If the reader who is not on intimate terms with Chapman is unimpressed by that list, he will at least see some point in the coincidences between his phraseology and that of this play. Compare, for instance:—

1. When you in peace are shrouded in your marble.

REVENGE FOR HONOUR, IV, i, 59.

A tenant to his marble [*i.e.* dead]. *Id.* III, i, 251.

It confirms

My shame alive, and, buried, will corrupt

My very dust

And fright the honest marble from my ashes. .

ADMIRAL OF FRANCE, IV, 71.

2. This same many-headed beast, the people.

REVENGE FOR HONOUR, II, i, 94.

The many-headed beast.

D'OLIVE, IV, ii, 55; REVENGE OF BUSSY, I, i, 195.

The base, ignoble, barbarous, giddy multitude, the monster
with many heads.

JUSTIFICATION OF 'PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA,' pref.

3. Like the young phoenix

That from her *spicy* pile revives more glorious.

REVENGE FOR HONOUR, V, ii, 36.

As if the phoenix hasting to her nest

Had gather'd all the Arabian *spicery*.

OVID'S BANQUET, st. 32.

How am I burnt to dust

With a new sun, and made a novel phoenix.

AN HUMOUROUS DAY'S MIRTH, sc. vii.

The fact that Glapthorne also makes play with "marble" and "phoenix" is, as aforesaid, one of the counter-considerations which complicate the problem. But the appeal must finally be to those who have studied Chapman's style; and I would in particular appeal to Professor Parrott to say whether anybody was likelier than he to coin these phrases:—

Bashful-fronted justice

Would half unsoul your army

Inform succession [=posterity]

Death-presaging comets

Contagious darkness
 Grief-drowned comets [= weeping eyes]
 Men witty in ambition of excess¹
 With unbecoming darkness shade thy beauties . . .
 The bashful elements [of Nature]
 Exemplary cruelty
 Murder his eternity ;

or pen the lines (I, i, 112-115) :—

The kernel of the text enucleated
 I shall confute, refute, repel, refel,
 Explode, exterminate, expunge, extinguish
 Like a rush candle, this same heresy.

I may add that the adoption from CUPID'S REVENGE of the episode of the heroine stabbing both her lovers seems to me a quite likely thing for Chapman to do. His use of the ghost motive in BUSSY tells of his lack of judgment in such things, and Professor Parrott admits his imitation of HAMLET in the REVENGE OF BUSSY.

IX. SUMMARY AND PROGNOSIS

The nature of the critical problem, it can now be seen, was largely glimpsed by the critics who, a century ago, diagnosed the play as a work of two layers, naturally to be conceived as standing for the workmanship of two periods. No further light was attainable while the composite was undoubtedly assumed to be of Shakespeare's drafting and finishing. The first full recognition of alien elements in the Folio had come from the plain testimony of the two printed CONTENTION plays to the pre-Shakespearean existence of the whole substance of 2 and 3 HENRY VI, which almost forced the corollary that 1 HENRY VI was equally pre-Shakespearean. Apart from the spontaneous doubts of good readers as to much of TITUS, PERICLES, TIMON, TROILUS, and small sections of other plays, no further general advance was made in the rectifying of the

¹ Compare : "A strain of wit above a man of wit" (*Temple Masque*, l. 180).

Canon save the discrimination of two hands in HENRY VIII, a matter of inference from the anomalous progression of the action and the differences in style, diction and feeling, confirmed by the discovery that equally marked differences existed in the versification of those differing sections in respect of both double-endings and weak-endings.

The first notation of the marked preponderance of double-endings in HENRY VIII is at least a hundred and sixty years old; having been put by Richard Roderick in a paper published in the sixth (posthumous) edition (1758) of Thomas Edwards' CANONS OF CRITICISM (primarily a blistering attack on Warburton). Roderick's challenge to the critical faculty of his countrymen seems to have been entirely thrown away, being never developed among the Variorum men, though Seymour took it up; and it was on an independent suggestion from Tennyson that Spedding in 1850 went about his demonstration that the extra double-endings in the play are Fletcher's. This rational inference as to HENRY VIII has been widely accepted, being supported by Hickson, Ingram, Fleay and Dowden, and endorsed by Mr. Pooler in his excellent "Arden" edition; but concerning the HENRY VI plays, as concerning TITUS, a considerable number of scholars of good standing seem to have remained blind to the æsthetic facts.

For sheer lack of sense of difference in versification—though the mere double-ending test plainly pointed to further inferences—the bulk of the Folio continued to be uncritically accepted as of one substance; and the disparate phenomena of ALL'S WELL and other plays remained mere matter for dubious allusion; many editors, like Dr. Chambers, denying that there was any morphological problem to be solved, while confidently supplying æsthetic solutions which we have seen to be of the nature of mares' nests. What has been lacking in the critical procedure is, on the one hand, a simple notation of differences of versification, style, and diction, and, on the other hand, a comparison of the styles in the Folio with those of the contemporary dramatists. Upon a

resort to those tests, we have found that the differentia in ALL'S WELL lead, over the great bulk of the play, to the recognition in it of the style, dramatic methods, diction, phraseology, ideas, vocabulary and versification of Chapman, with a certain amount of detail that points to a previous groundwork, suggesting the hand of Greene.

If then Shakespeare be pronounced to have drafted ALL'S WELL at about the date assigned to it, as it stands, alike by those who posit an earlier form and those who do not, he is declared, from the traditionist point of view, to have added to his previous imitations a comprehensive imitation of Chapman, alike as to style, versification, use of rhyme, type of character, type of dialogue, phrase, and vocabulary. On the Imitation Theory, which conceives him as laboriously imitating the style, versification, and diction of Peele, Marlowe, Greene and Kyd in TITUS, Greene in the TWO GENTLEMEN, Marlowe and Kyd in RICHARD III, and Marlowe again in RICHARD II, HENRY V, and the ERRORS, he now reverts to the wholesale imitation of Chapman which, by the same theory, he must be held to have practised in A LOVER'S COMPLAINT, if he penned that, in MEASURE FOR MEASURE, and in the MERRY WIVES. In ALL'S WELL, that is to say, he imposes on the action the developed figure of Parolles, who is become a mere excrescence on the plot, functioning as a "guy," even as does Monsieur D'Olive in the play which, as it stands, bears his name, and as does Bassiolo in THE GENTLEMAN USHER, which also is named after a subsidiary character. At the same time he pens scenes of tedious fooling for the "clown," after the manner of the pre-Shakespeareans, sinking his wit to their uninspired plane, years after he had written his Falstaff scenes in HENRY IV.

Nay, he sinks below *their* higher plane, and some of the comic work in ALL'S WELL is poorer than that of THE GENTLEMAN USHER, and has less coherence with the plot. On the same overwhelming impulse of apéry, he handles a motive of miraculous healing after the

fashion of Chapman in the *USHER*; and, warming to his task, inserts slabs of rhyme in Chapman's manner alternately with speeches of line-ended blank-verse, as heavily loaded as Chapman's with monotonous double-endings. Save in a few speeches, none of which attains his own higher level, he renounces his mastery of various rhythm. In his manner of dialogue he Chapmanises to the point of puerility—notably in some of the talk of Lafeu and Parolles; and throughout the play he draws on Chapman's vocabulary to the extent of using at least sixty of his words and phrases which are never employed in any other play. And over and above all this he works up anew an old poetic formula, echoed twice by Greene from Spenser, and further embodied in the play-scene of *HAMLET*, echoing an echoed echo for sheer lack of invention.

Is this, then, a tenable theory? Dr. E. K. Chambers, who only now begins to face the Imitation Theory to which his "acceptance" commits him, has undertaken to defend the conception of "genius" as a process in virtue of which a slavish imitator may after a long apprenticeship suddenly burst his chrysalis and emerge an original Master. It is important to realise that this is the effect of a passage in Dr. Chambers's lecture in which he quotes from me without properly indicating the contextual implications. "When," he writes,¹ "Mr. Robertson expresses himself as taken aback by the notion of 'a literary miracle of genius elicited by some sudden supernatural troubling of the waters,' I can only reply that he has given an admirable description of the way in which genius does in fact *often appear* to effloresce." Not a single instance in literary history is suggested as bearing out this singular assertion.

The proposition, be it remembered, is that on the traditionist theory Shakespeare (*a*) begins by humbly copying, in *TITUS*, the styles, tags, phrases and versification of Peele, Kyd, Greene, and Marlowe, after writing the opening scene of the *ERRORS* in his own style, which is so much finer; and then (*b*) relapsing to Marlowe's

¹ Lecture cited, p. 12.

line and manner in the second scene; (c) writes the bulk of RICHARD III, and RICHARD II, in the style of Marlowe, while able to insert in the latter the King's speech on the "antic Death," which is of another æsthetic world, and the speeches of Richard and Buckingham in the former which are equally in his own verse manner; multiplying double-endings beyond Marlowe's rate in LUCAN; then (d), after writing the DREAM in his own style, with a mastery of rhythm unapproached by any predecessor, proceeds to write the bulk of the Two GENTLEMEN in the tic-tac iambics of Greene.

This chronological order, it may be argued, is not universally accepted. Let it then be rearranged by the traditionists as they will, within the limits forced on them by the necessary dating of TITUS in 1593 and the ERRORS still earlier. Let them put the GENTLEMEN and the two RICHARDS either before or after the DREAM and KING JOHN. In what known case of literary progression do they profess to find a parallel or precedent for such a zig-zag of slavish mimicry and artistic mastery? The sole case which I can imagine being cited is that of Coleridge, who passes from imitative conventional verse to a quite new mastery of rhythm and diction in KUBLA KHAN and the ANCIENT MARINER. There, as I have elsewhere argued, the causation is interesting and simple enough: Coleridge's higher Muse is the offspring of his opium, in the early stage in which what was to become the deadly master is the magical servant. Apart from that case, I know of none in English or any other literature in which mere fluent imitation suddenly gives way to abnormal accomplishment. And unless we surmise a similar drug habit in Shakespeare's case, that of Coleridge gives no colour whatever to the Imitation Theory evolved by the tradition. Even if we did make such a surmise, the parallel would be quite inadequate, for there is nothing in the early work of Coleridge or any other great poet to match the absolute apéry of other men's work that is posited by the traditional Shakespeare Canon.

It might indeed be argued that there is really a sudden

"efflorescence" in Shakespeare's early dramatic work as compared with the *VENUS AND ADONIS*, which he declared to be the first heir of his invention, and the *LUCRECE* which closely followed. Let Coleridge say what he will, no one could have divined that these were the works of a great poet had they been all that Shakespeare left us. They are but facile work produced for the market of the time, telling of nothing but an unbounded fluency and fancy and a perfect sense of scansion and rhyming rhythm. Swinburne might well pronounce them markedly inferior to Marlowe's unfinished *HERO AND LEANDER*. The plain inference is that Shakespeare set no store by such work: else he would surely have returned, when his fortunes had improved, to a form which had won him considerable repute. They are but pot-boiling exercises, penned while the theatres were closed for plague. But even between these and the early poetry of the *DREAM* and *JOHN* there is only the distance between the unserious and the careful effort of a young man of genius, the first dealing with dead and the others with living themes. In this case there can be no pretence of a "supernatural troubling of the waters," either as regards motivation or result. Nor is that plea put by the traditionists.

Dr. Chambers himself, after fulminating against all who deny Shakespeare's authorship of *TITUS*, has in effect avowed that it cannot be of his drafting; and he has similarly retreated from the Canon as to the *HENRY VI* plays and *HENRY VIII*. But he remains committed to the *ERRORS* and the *GENTLEMEN* and the two *RICHARDS*, *ALL'S WELL* and *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*; and he now expressly commits himself to an Imitation Theory of his own:—

It is part of the character of Shakespeare, as I read it in the Canon, to be an experimentalist in style. I cannot regard the many phases through which his writing went in the short space of some twenty years as wholly due to a growth in which there was nothing deliberate. I discern abrupt beginnings and abrupt discontinuances. And he was receptive, as well as creative. I can suppose him experimenting in the manner of Marlowe, or even of poor Greene. And I can suppose him, much later, playing

with stylistic elements which had struck him in the work of Chapman, and ultimately dismissing them as, on the whole, unprofitable.¹

Is this, one wonders, an instinctive effort to renounce all past concessions? Does the critic after all incline to regard *TITUS* and the *HENRY VI* trilogy as deliberate experiments by Shakespeare in forms of bad writing? If he could be supposed willing to ape poor Greene, why not poor Peele and poor Kyd, as well as Marlowe? And is *this* a fashion in which genius "often appears to effloresce"? Youthful imitation of admired models we can all understand, even on the part of budding genius. There is such imitation in the *VENUS* and the *LUCRECE*. But laborious dramatic apery, by abnormal genius, of third-rate and fourth-rate dramatic styles at a stage at which it has already transcended them, as in the first scene of the *ERRORS*; apery descending to the iteration of a multitude of hackneyed tags and the toilsome use of the poorest rhythms by the master of the best—by what precedent is that to be accounted for? Let us have it out, with the cards on the table. To this complexion the traditionist theory must come; and I can imagine a youthful (not an elderly) penman boldly taking up the gage with some such declaration as this:—

Precisely so! Shakespeare had the power of imitation in the highest degree: that is what constitutes his supremacy as a dramatist. He can enter into any personality. Equally he can enter into any style. And in his earlier stage, when he had to make his way, he would quite naturally make money for his theatre by writing 'tosh' in the styles that he knew to be popular, drawing the crowd with Peelean platitudes and Greenean fox-trots and Kyddish realistic commonplace and Marlowese rants, holding on to line-ended verse because that was what the public were used to. After he had begun the *ERRORS* and the *GENTLEMEN* with verse in his own winged style, he felt that that couldn't 'catch on,' and went back to Marlowe's lope and Greene's trot. In *RICHARD II* and *RICHARD III* he gave himself a rest now and then on his wings; but he knew that to be popular he must give them rants and scolding matches with 'To the bottom of thy throat thou liest' effects; and he wrote:

When I was mortal, my anointed body
By thee was punched full of deadly holes,

¹ Academy Lecture, p. 11.

deliberately fooling them to the top of their bent. Was there not a 'hole' phrase in Peele's *DAVID*, and a similar thing in the *LUCRECE*? And later, when he found that the public wanted figures like D'Olive, he gave them Parolles, and threw in the Helena plot and the Isabella plot as 'hot stuff' that was sure to draw.

I doubt whether the case can be more plausibly put, though this presentment may be held to lack the proper Ptolemaic gravity; and I wait to see whether it is either adopted or adapted. But I cannot well conceive either Dr. Chambers or Dr. Herford, or Mr. Sykes, to say nothing of Dr. Bradley and Mr. Mackail, surrendering to any presentment of that conception of Shakespeare as the Master Mimic. Dr. Chambers, to harbour it, would have to part with his cherished "bitter comedy" formula; and Dr. Herford, at that pass, would have no use left for his formulas of normality and abnormality and chosen field and special purpose. And yet, is there any other gambit that can pretend to save the traditional Canon?

Dr. Chambers, so far, is quite serious. After accepting the ascription to Fletcher of large portions of *HENRY VIII*, which was finally made out solely by the test of the double-endings, following on a recognition of inferior matter as such, he attempts to account for the wild zigzag of the double-endings in the *DREAM* and the *ERRORS*, the *GENTLEMEN* and *KING JOHN*, *RICHARD III* and *I HENRY IV*, not merely by a theory of "experiment" but by gravely reminding us (p. 13) that in the first scene of *KING JOHN* the frequent recurrence of such terms as 'father,' 'brother,' and 'mother' at the ends of lines brings up the percentage for the scene to 16, whereas for the whole play it is only 6. That is quite true, and it would fairly yield the inference that Shakespeare, in a realistic scene in a tragedy, saw the utility of the double-ending on that side. But a little while before (p. 11) the lecturer had pictured the young Shakespeare as trying "to escape the tyranny of the 'drumming decasyllabon,' and to emphasise the verse paragraph rather than the individual line, by the help

of such devices as the double-ending and a varied and subtle distribution of pauses." Here we have sheer counter-sense. The individual line is specially emphasised, in *KING JOHN*, precisely in the scene cited, where the double-endings multiply; and the verse paragraph is easily attained without double-endings, at the very outset of the *ERRORS*. Shakespeare was *the* dramatist of the time who least needed double-endings as a relief to monotony. If he sought double-endings to escape line-ended monotony, why is he most 'linear' in the first scene of *KING JOHN*, which is specially double-ended and line-ended: and how came he to lapse to a low percentage afterwards, where his verse is so much more continuous?¹ Ostensibly seeking to show, in oblivion of his decision as to Fletcher's part in *HENRY VIII*, that double-endings can prove nothing, he in effect sets them to prove a contradiction in terms.

And this device avails nothing to meet the challenge: How came Shakespeare so to multiply double-endings in *RICHARD III* and then go back to 6 per cent. in *JOHN*, and 5 per cent. in *I HENRY IV*? There can be no pretence that in *RICHARD* the double-endings are a matter of recurring names or designations. We all knew of that phenomenon, and I have more than once referred to it. But it has no bearing on *RICHARD III*. If Dr. Chambers, noting the realistic effect of the double-endings in the opening scene of *KING JOHN*, had argued that they are employed to that end in the second and other scenes of the *ERRORS*, he would be putting an arguable case; but he has closed that line of argument against himself. Apart from the special point as to marked variations of percentage in a given play, as *CORIOLANUS*, his case comes to nothing. And all the while he is arguing against previous positions of his own. In his (undated) introduction to the "*Warwick*" edition of the *MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM* (where, p. 14, he admits the fitness of Fleay's suggestion that the

¹ Dr. Chambers raises another issue by noting how, in *Coriolanus*, with a total percentage of 28, there are some long passages with very few double-endings. On that and other interesting issues I hope to treat at a later stage of this investigation.

play was produced for the wedding of the Earl of Derby, Jan. 26, 1595), he expressly notes that "two passages, III, ii, 177-343 and V, i, 105, show a markedly larger proportion of feminine endings than the rest of the play," and he "cannot resist the suspicion that the opening of Act V *shows some traces of later work.*" All this he appears to have wholly forgotten in framing his negative argument for his Academy lecture.

But the most unlucky of all his pleas is that as to the likelihood that Shakespeare would deliberately experiment, at an "advanced" stage of his art, with the style and diction of Chapman. Here we come near what I have suggested as the neck-or-nothing form of the Imitation Theory. Nay, we get further. No one else, I think, has ever suggested that the turgidity and contortion of Chapman's serious style were anything but a handicap to his plays. It certainly could not be by way of being popular that Shakespeare would mimic him there. We must regard him, it should seem, as "playing with stylistic elements" in "bitter comedy" by reason of sheer æsthetic bitterness of soul, until such time as he felt the exercise to be "on the whole, unprofitable." It would be, with a vengeance! What Shakespeare has done with Chapman's style in *MEASURE FOR MEASURE* and *ALL'S WELL* is either wholly or partially to transmute it into his own wherever that seemed worth while, or merely to curb its redundancy and simplify its syntax without curing its line-ended monotony.

Both procedures confirm our inference. In *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*¹ we find presented, in great Shakespearean verse, the didactic equivalents of certain philosophemes put by Chapman with no such charm or beauty of expression.

Spirits are not finely touched

But to fine issues

is as a crystal fused from the quartz of Chapman's diction. Either Shakespeare has turned into his own gold the slag of a Chapman draft, or the 'high-stated'

¹ See Part II of this work, p. 193 sq.

Chapman, so conscious of his intellectual superiority, so contemptuous of the work of more popular poets, had turned into his quartz the crystal of his rival. The "stylistic elements" of Chapman which remain in MEASURE FOR MEASURE (apart from prose) are mainly those of monotonous and commonplace and heavily double-ended blank-verse, which, embodying no interesting thought, makes neither a Shakespearean nor a Chapmanesque appeal by diction. In that play, then, Shakespeare certainly does not "play with stylistic elements which had struck him in the work of Chapman." He has left standing flat but lucid *verse* which reveals Chapman; where the matter was interesting, he has transmuted it into his own, leaving only some trace of the process in vocabulary and in a few rapid irregularities.

What interested him he made his own. The reflections of the Duke on government, on life, and on death, Claudio's cry of recoil from the phantasms of the disembodied state, Isabella's pleadings for mercy—all these appealed to his art and to his spirit; and though nothing could make the play good or great as a whole he thus lent it goodness and greatness in detail. Never does he play with Chapman's perverse diction as if he thought it worth while so to "experiment": visibly he dislikes it, as we can feel he must have done. He rewrites yards of it. If then *in the same period* we find that bad diction in ALL'S WELL, jarring us with its perversity where a touch of Shakespeare's hand could have made it pleasant or passable, the notion that he was there deliberately experimenting in bad writing becomes for us a fantasy of perverse apologetics which neither the sentimental nor the unsentimental biographer, with his eyes open, will endorse. The sole rational inference is that here Shakespeare did not feel it worth while to rewrite, though he had to prune and curtail.

It is true that even such negative revision yields us, in a radically unsatisfactory play, a certain balance of effect such as Chapman never attains in serious work. The parts of Helena and the King are so adequately supervised, apart from the tiresome rhyming in the

scene in which she undertakes his cure, that they make an impression of actuality which only the plot-action stultifies in the case of Helena. The Countess and Lafeu, though clearly revealing remodellings not carefully controlled, are finally better characterised than Chapman's figures are wont to be. In fairness, some of this qualified credit should perhaps go to him, on the score that this sort of serious comedy really gave some openings for advance on his part, though Parolles is rather a retrogression. But characteristics which would set up an impression of new effectiveness in a Chapman play can yield no such result in a play weighed as Shakespeare's work is always fitly to be weighed.

Even if Dr. Chambers be granted his fantasy of genius as naturally emerging by psychic cataclysm in a hardened plagiarist, it cannot save his position in regard to this play. For he dates *ALL'S WELL* *after* JULIUS CÆSAR and *after* considerable work, at least, done upon HAMLET. For him, the play belongs to the fantasy-period of "bitter comedy," the period of *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*, *TIMON*, and *TROILUS*, the period in which Shakespeare had mastered his instrument and learned to utter his own thoughts with his own voice. To the conception of supreme genius suddenly emerging from the chrysalis of an abject imitator must now be added that of the same genius returning to the cast-off husk, renouncing its signal powers, and "experimentally" playing the apt ape on a still poorer plane and with a weaker subservience than that of the period of nonage. If there be any who think this a rational or a plausible "speculation," they are welcome to the comfort they get from it. Those, however, who do any critical thinking on the problem, I fancy, will decline to submit their judgment to such a Ptolemaic guidance when they realise that it is imposed merely by way of relieving Dr. Chambers of the strain of confessing that his "acceptance" of most of the plays in the Folio as the original creations of Shakespeare was a thoughtless acquiescence in an unconsidered tradition.

For the true critical course becomes progressively

more plain, the more carefully we consider the plays in detail. The great majority are simply not of Shakespeare's drafting; and to see and avow this is as sane a course as the blind acceptance of the tradition is otherwise. The naturalistic theory is the simple constating of the facts. The internal evidence is a cumulative and overwhelming record of alien sources for most of the plays, from *TITUS* onwards. The very qualities which make the *DREAM* a lasting poetic possession are the proof that the "weird" of imitation was never dree'd by him who penned that in his earliest years of playmaking. And with the exploded Imitation Theory goes the fantasy of the "bitter comedy period," with which Dr. Chambers embroiders the tradition.

What he calls a "bitter comedy" is just a comedy in the manner and spirit of Chapman, who is no more bitter here than he is in *THE WIDOW'S TEARS*. For Dr. Chambers, that scurvy masterpiece, if found in the Folio, would be bitter indeed. A still more feeling pronouncement on the principle of sex would come from him at the contemplation of a plot of which the riotous ribaldry turns the impropriety of *ALL'S WELL*, in comparison, to mere pale bad taste. Bad is Chapman's moral taste at his dramatic best, as at his worst; but to conceive *him* as planning the *TEARS* in order to show how a "noble woman" can be degraded by sexual instinct would be to add folly to farce. Not so is *his* problem to be solved, any more than Shakespeare's.

But to recognise that it is he and not Shakespeare who is responsible for both *ALL'S WELL* and *MEASURE FOR MEASURE* is to get some way towards conceiving Shakespeare aright. Dr. Herford might almost hope to save *his* theorem of Shakespeare's bias to normality by thus recognising that the "outrageous" elements in the Folio are not of Shakespeare's "choosing," but simply of his "acceptance." But as his thesis, twinn'd with its contrary, had better never have been born, it is best to go on with the natural history of the plays in succession, and leave final formulas for the epilogue, if not for posterity.

To make a path through the thicket of established presupposition, indeed, is always a slow and difficult task for the pioneer, who may look to have his garments rent in the process. Each fresh step involves new problems: and he can well sympathise with startled denizens of the tradition who perceive as much. Tests laid down in the present survey raise issues in other plays: *THE TEMPEST*, for instance, has verse features which hint of something more than even the primary play of which the existence was proved by Tieck's discovery of Jacob Ayer's comedy *DIE SCHÖNE SIDA* in 1817, and is now undisputed. And the inquest does not end there: a score of the clues in *ALL'S WELL* implicate *TWELFTH NIGHT*, which has double-ending rates that approximate to those of *ALL'S WELL*, and, though much more carefully trimmed by Shakespeare, will be termed by none a "bitter comedy," whatever Dr. Chambers may make of the procedure of Olivia. But when the whole method and its consequences are well understood, it will be seen that—to change the metaphor—the outcome is nothing more or less than the *integration* of the true Shakespeare, the tracing of his handiwork through all the poorer matter framed by other hands; the substitution of a true vision of a great artist's spirit and faculty and achievement for that of an impossible medley of good and bad, which to assign to one man is to affront the critical understanding and bewilder the student's soul.

On that basis we may reach, in so far as the basis reaches, that conception of the man which is so vainly sought to be attained and imposed by deductions from a wrong premiss. And though we shall do ill to imitate the headlong confidence which assigns didactic dogmatisms and æsthetic fanaticisms to the infinitely resilient intelligence which we are seeking to trace, we seem already to come in view of an aspect of his life which has been missed no less by his regimented panegyrists than by the free-lances who have elected to asperse him: the aspect of him, to wit, as a consummate poet who had to travail for audiences that largely found their satisfaction where he could not.

My old friend G. B. Shaw, following his favourite pastime of bluffing the universe, in æsthetics¹ as in politics, has written that he absolutely "despises" the Shakespeare he finds in the plays.² That is one of the outstanding results of the "acceptance" of the traditional Canon, which Mr. Shaw of course never thought of submitting to a critical investigation.

The real Shakespeare, who eludes Mr. Shaw's too simple methods, was probably not given to "despising" his environment either in Chapman's or in Mr. Shaw's fashion. Not being bent on reshaping the world, he seemingly sought to live in it as best he could—as, after all, do even the members of the Fabian Society, of some of whom the worldly success rather outgoes his. But, possessing æsthetic gifts of another order than Mr. Shaw's, he must at times have winced over his tasks. The people who laughed alike at the mock-madness of Hamlet and the madness of Ophelia, who enjoyed the rank babble of D'Olive and the trapping of Parolles; the people for whom the poetry of the DREAM was at best something compensated by Bottom's wearing of the ass's head, and who whole-heartedly approved of the schemings of Isabella and Mariana and Helena and Diana, rewarded by wedlock with a pardoned Angelo and a pardoned Bertram—these faced him for long years.

That Shakespeare took joy in those constructions, any more than we can, is a thing inconceivable to those who have truly studied him. That he looked at them askance and sardonically is likely enough: that he invented such false projections of life to relieve his spleen is but one of the hallucinations of a didactic logic that, in lack of æsthetic perception, blindly stakes

¹ After his dashing attempt, by force of asseveration, to establish the late Samuel Butler as a great writer and a great man, Mr. Shaw might plausibly undertake a similar exploit with Chapman, as against Shakespeare. The same æsthetic method could function in that case; and "future-piercing suggestions" could be ascribed to the idol with a certain stylistic fitness. And the tactic of asseveration is universally applicable.

² This, from the author of *Saint Joan* to the author of *Coriolanus*, is certainly piquant. What, one wonders, would Shakespeare have thought of the wind-miracle in *Saint Joan*?

all on a biographical inference from misunderstood data, which leave it capable of finding Shakespeare's art in Titus and in the stage figure of Joan of Arc. That he found life tragical is told not merely by the eyes of the Ely portrait, which may be an artist's miscarriage, but by many a painful line in the Sonnets which seems insusceptible of any but an autobiographic interpretation.

Alas, 'tis true I have gone here and there
 And made myself a motley to the view,
Gored mine own thoughts, sold cheap what is most dear,
 Made old offences of affections new.
 Most true it is that I have looked on truth
 Askance and strangely,

he tells one listener. But, he adds,

by all above,
 These blanches gave my heart another youth.

And whatever may have been the immediate bearing of the inclamation, we know it is true of his soul as artist. The supreme achievement of the poet of "out-cast state" is that after all his economic compulsions to manipulate mean matter for the general consumer he found a way to mediate between the soul of the multitude and his own, laying great bases for eternity with works in which he could put his utmost power and yet sweep the world with him; emerging, as one true poet of our time has sung,

Self-righted from the dreadful self-surrender.

Thus, and thus only, does he become and remain thinkable, comprehensible, and critically admirable, an integrated Man and Artist in place of the factitious Motley of a thoughtless tradition.

Truly, it was no more an unbroken triumphal march of a perfect artist than it was the kaleidoscope of apéry which Ptolemaic criticism would make it. At an early stage, when he feels as friendless as he is poor, the poet avows himself as

Desiring this man's art and that man's scope

—it may have been—the bustling art of Greene or the

widening scope of Marlowe and Kyd,¹ beside whose variously businesslike handling of things theatrical his rich poetic faculty seemed thus far poor in useful resource. Nor, in *their* forms of resource, was it ever abundant. Not by scheming new realisms or new plots, not by new clevernesses or new caricatures, but by 'suiting the word to the action' in many men's contrivances, as he alone could, did he make his way to the heights, where there is always room. To the last, indeed, there was the recurring compulsion to handle perverse plots such as that of CYMBELINE, for the theatre's need—a compulsion which by that time had lost its bitterness, after so long a series of worthy triumphs. But in it all there was no cataclysm, no fantastic transfiguration from a bondage of servile mimicry to a mastery hitherto unattempted. From the first to the last, the life of the Master, as of all men, is an evolution. As such, then, it behoves us to trace it.

Not that the work of criticism can ever be done by merely applying that formula and seeking to make the data fit. The very doctrine of evolution is reached and demonstrated only through the closest study of all the data; and a vital error of fact vitiates all generalisations. We have seen that sequence at every turn in our study of the generalisations of the traditionists; and against similar miscarriage the critic must for ever be on his guard—knowing, indeed, that in his own course he has from time to time followed illusive clues and "run counter" on a true scent. The price of truth, as of liberty, is eternal vigilance. But between a right and a wrong general view there is the conclusive difference that on the latter we can but divagate "in wandering mazes lost," while on the other we move, albeit with stumbles, to an ever-widening comprehension.

¹ Or, *vice versa*, the ordering art of Kyd and the variety of subject compassed by Greene, or by Marlowe.

X. POSTSCRIPT ON "THE PHŒNIX AND THE TURTLE"

By way of having "all the cards on the table," it is fitting to avow that a point may be made for the Imitation Theory by raising the question of the "sylistic elements" of the poem "The Phoenix and the Turtle," published as Shakespeare's in the Supplement to Robert Chester's *LOVE'S MARTYR*, 1601, and hitherto accepted without question, though with small gratitude, as genuine. A singular attempt, indeed, has lately been made by Mr. J. M. Murry (perhaps inspired by the deliverances of Emerson and Grosart) to establish the piece as a supreme masterpiece of pure poetry. This has elicited at least one fit protest, and, so far as I have observed, no assent. The judgment is, in fact, an interesting instance of the kind of inverse æsthetic effect produced on some critical temperaments by a bold badness of diction, an assured aspect, and a cryptic style and substance, under an august name. In a similar fashion, the late Samuel Butler was moved to see in A *LOVER'S COMPLAINT* a "wonderful" poem, as to the Shakespearean authorship of which "the internal evidence of style . . . admits of no doubt."

On what grounds or principles such judgments proceed, their framers never tell us. The *COMPLAINT* has many marks of a style that is not Shakespeare's, and none of the style of his signed poems, his plays, or the great bulk of the Sonnets. It is marked by the frequent asyndeton and ellipsis that pervade the whole of Chapman's work; by ideas which he has elsewhere elaborated (for instance, as to horsemanship and the theory of vision); by turns of phrase that are either special to him or singularly like him; by portraiture that duplicates some in his signed work; and by twenty peculiarities of non-Shakespearean vocabulary that point to him. The sole internal ground ever offered for regarding it as of Shakespeare's penning is the presence of two strong lines:—

O father, what a hell of witchcraft lies
In the small orb of one particular tear;

and there we have not only a Chapman tic in the "particular tear" but an idea partly duplicated by him in the passage:—

An old wife's eye
Is a blue crystal full of sorcery.

GENTLEMAN USHER, IV, iv, 54.

On all the bad lines, the vicious phrasing, the weak violence, the tortured syntax, and the chronic prosaism, the traditionist school is of course thus far silent, though Dr. Chambers may perhaps be looked-to for an intrepid attempt to show that they constitute an "experiment" by Shakespeare in bad writing, of which he tired before getting to any semblance of a finish.

Certainly the PHŒNIX AND THE TURTLE gives the traditionist an equal opportunity. It is Chapmanese in spirit, in form, in theme, in diction, in vocabulary, in crudity, in convulsive infelicity, in alternate terseness and circumlocution, in force and in feebleness. In the opening stanza it executes a rhetorical collapse which recurs in nearly every quatrain to the close, the final rhyme being a flat makeshift in the manner of so many of Chapman's:—

Let the bird of loudest lay,
On the sole Arabian tree,
Herald and sad trumpet be,
To whose sound chaste wings obey.

The fatality of the thing is fascinating:—

From this session interdict
Every fowl of tyrant wing,
Save the eagle, feathered king:
Keep the obsequy so strict.

The last quatrain faithfully conforms to the law:—

Whereupon it [Reason!] made this threne
To the phoenix and the dove,
Co-supremes¹ and stars of love,
As chorus to their tragic scene.

¹ A Chapman noun, part of his antithesis of "supremes" and "infernals." See his *Odyssey*, vi, 16; xiii, 183; xxiv, 4.

That this workmanship is that of a supreme poet, let those affirm who will. For the assertion that it is Shakespeare's, we have simply the uncommented testimony of the publisher of LOVE'S MARTYR, who puts the signature 'WILLIAM SHAKE-SPEARE' after the 'Threnos';¹ and seeing (1) that the bulk of THE PASSIONATE PILGRIM is admitted to be falsely ascribed to Shakespeare by just such a testimony; (2) that nobody believes *all* the Sonnets to be Shakespeare's; and (3) that the closest study of A LOVER'S COMPLAINT entirely confirms the doubts which had been hinted even by some who would repudiate the label of "dis-integrator," the student who prefers the inductive to the Ptolemaic method—which is one of obstinate deduction from a challenged premiss—may fitly proceed to inquire, by analysis, to what hand the enigmatic poem really points: applying the proper tests of manner and matter, phrase and diction, sentiment and style.

To begin with, the phoenix is a Chapman property;² and so is the turtle;³ and the bizarre notion of figuring a dead husband and wife by a he-dove and a she-phoenix is quite in keeping with his artistic methods. On Grosart's weird theory that the Phoenix and Turtle of Chester's compilation were Elizabeth and Essex, I offer no comment; merely noting that the supplementary poems are declared to be consecrated to the 'love and merit' of Sir John Salisburie. It is with the execution of the poem that we are concerned, and there we can trace Chapman. The second stanza:

But thou shrieking harbinger,
Foul *precurser* of the fiend,
Augur of the fever's end,
To this troup come thou not near,

may, as Grosart thinks, refer simply to the common or garden screech-owl; but even without bringing in Essex and Elizabeth as dead in 1601, interpretation may be sought in Chapman's EPICEDIUM, where we may

¹ Which is printed as a separate piece.

² Above, p. 87.

³ *All Fools*, i, i, 3; *D'Olive*, v, i, 86; *Widow's Tears*, ii, i, 23.

get the clue that the shrieking harbinger and foul pre-currer of the fiend is the "fierce¹ Rhamnusia," the "grim fury" who saw, fast by, the blood-affecting fever of Prince Henry, and, accompanied on her chariot by "infernal Death," hauls up from Hell "the horrid monster, fierce Echidna called," who functions as the fatal fiend. A mere owl foreboding death seems inadequate to the epithets.

In the fourth stanza it is noteworthy that "surplice" occurs only here and in ALL'S WELL (I, iii, 99) in the Shakespeare Concordance; and such a line as

That *defunctive music can*

might be assigned to Chapman at sight even more confidently than the neologism "precurrer." We have the same "kenspeckle" diction in

thou *treble-dated* crow
That thy *sable gender* makest²
With the breath thou giv'st and takest;

and when we come to

In a *mutual flame* from hence

we are well prepared for a purely Chapmanese discourse, reiterating the philosopheme of two-in-one which he introduces into his plays and poetry at least ten times.³ That

love in twain
Had the essence but in one;
Two *distincts*, division none:
Number there in love was slain,

is a theme treated to apparent exhaustion in ANDROMEDA LIBERATA; and the last line in particular embodies a thesis to which Chapman, as we learn from the JUSTIFICATION, was particularly attached—the proposition, namely, that

In mutual love
One only death and two revivals move;⁴

¹ "Fiery," in Shepherd, is evidently a misprint, whether or not it is in the original.

² A popular belief. But *sable gender* is Chapmanese.

³ See refs. in *The Shakespeare Canon*, Part I, p. 145; and add *Mask*, ll. 318 sq.

⁴ The usual Chapmanese racking of sense for a rhyme.

For he that loves, when he himself neglects,
Dies in himself once

O blessed death

Which two lives follow ! O commerce most strange,
Where, who himself doth for another change,
Nor hath himself, nor ceaseth still to have :
O gain, beyond which no desire can crave,
When two are so made one, that either is
For one made two, and doubled as in this ;
Who one life had, one intervenient death
Makes him distinctly draw a twofold breath—

and so on, *ad libitum*. The reader has probably had enough—enough, certainly, to reveal the source of the metaphysic in THE PHŒNIX.

The style is no less revelatory. The “number was slain” recalls “what impossibility would slay” in ALL’S WELL ; and in the next quatrain we have the Chapman asyndeton, the same theme, and the usual collapse in the fourth line :—

Hearts remote, yet not asunder ;
Distance, and no space *was seen*
'Twixt the turtle and his queen :
But in them, *it were a wonder*.

“Remote,” it will be remembered, meant for Chapman not distant but “removed”—put apart. It is surely he who begins a quatrain with

So between them love did shine,

and ends it with

Either was *the other's mine* ;

and only he could have made the obsessed return to the already exhausted symbol :

*Property*¹ *was thus appalled*
That the self was not the same ;
Single nature's double name
Neither two nor one was called.

Reason, in itself confounded
Saw division grow together,
To themselves *yet either neither*,
Simple were so well compounded.

¹ In the etymological sense, barbarically imposed? Grosart thinks the meaning is “the propertied classes” !

That it cried, How true a'twain
 Seemeth this *concordant one* !
 Love hath reason, *reason none*,
 If what parts can so remain.

It is the same ringing of the quibbling changes on one pseudo-poetic thesis—at best to be likened to a kitten chasing its tail—that constitutes the special purport of ANDROMEDA, which moved Chapman to parental pride and other people to derision. The notion of finally setting "Reason" to make "this threne"—the only part of the composition which savours of the "simple, passionate, sensuous" quality of poetry as distinct from ratiocination—is of a piece with the general pedantic queerness of the undertaking; and it was surely a pedant who entitled the triplets "Threnos." The "treble-dated crow," by the same token, may be referred to the translator of Hesiod's Book of Days—where the "prating crow" exceeds man in longevity "by thrice three lives,"¹—as well as to Lucretius, v, 1053.

Let it be duly noted, with Malone, that in the TEMPEST (III, iii, 23) we have :

in Arabia
 There is *one tree*, the phoenix' throne.

But even if we take the TEMPEST passage as unquestionably Shakespearean,² it is but a common allusion to a common belief. And, according to Grosart, the bird in line 1 is *not* the phoenix, but probably the nightingale! That is as may be!

It is to be noted, finally, that Grosart (N.S.S. rep. of Chester, p. 240) justly sees in the *Vatum Chorus* at p. 180 (188) "touches like Chapman at his worst." Chapman, then, may even on Grosart's view have had a further share in the compilation than is indicated in the 'Peristeros' lines above his name. Of course Grosart did not dream of his presence in the 'Shake-speare' piece. But the judicial reader will admit that in the PHOENIX AND THE TURTLE we either have Chapman's

¹ Poems, p. 235a.

² In point of fact, its "unicorn" (like many other clues in the *Tempest*) suggests an intervening draft by Chapman.

work or an astonishingly laborious imitation of him, such as the Imitation Theory so often posits. Its adherents may be left to make the claim.

As usual, many æsthetic issues are bound up with the decision; but it is plain from the start that tradition is a blinding force for some of the critics. Emerson's pronouncement, in his PARNASSUS anthology, is vouchsafed to that. "Charming in diction" the poem could not have seemed on any other introduction than that given by Shakespeare's name; and Emerson's verdict that the piece is "a good example of the rule that there is a poetry for bards proper, as well as a poetry for the world of readers," would seem to have given Mr. Murry his cue. "This poem," Emerson avows, "if published for the first time, and without a known author's name, would find no general reception. Only the poets," he adds, "would save it." It is to be feared that even the poetic status of Emerson, Dr. Grosart, and Mr. Murry will fail to bear out the last sentence, so fatally balanced by the other. "The poets" have been mortally reticent on the subject.

Dr. Grosart's plea that to him "the PHŒNIX AND TURTLE has universal elements in it at once of thinking, emotion and form," is equally negligible. It could have been quite as well put for the signed work of Chapman in the same collection. An effective judgment must be prefaced by an effective analysis. In literary criticism, as in moral criticism, there are two processes, interdependent, but liable to different modes of error. The literary first thing is the æsthetic perception; in ethics, the moral sense; the second is the process of critical reflection upon that. The primary perception is vital: if that be astray (and of this the ultimate test is ultimate and universal consistency), the reflective process can only by accident yield any good result. Astray it must sometimes be, and tradition is frequently one of its misguiders. Let it be so deflected, and all the work of the reflective faculty in exposition is but paralogism or sophism, ultimately dismissible as verbiage, the more pontifical, the worse.

Such erring criticism owes its measure of acceptance to the recognition that a merely right æsthetic perception, yielding no gymnastic of reflection, hardly amounts to criticism at all, and that value is created only by an extension from feeling to thought. But no thinking can validate a wrong judgment which merely formulates a wrong feeling; and when the exercise which should lead to rectification is merely subordinated to the error, the critical miscarriage is maximised, to the risk of making some readers distrust in general the thinking process which their æsthetic sense here repudiates. But the remedy for bad reasoning is just better reasoning, never non-reasoning; and when it is noted that the wrong estimate or ascription has recommended itself only to professed and practised intuitionists, the faith in critical reason is newly justified. The intuitionist is finally at the mercy of spurious intuition, that is to say, of inculcated error setting up a notion posing as intuition when it is no such thing.

It is critically thinkable that Shakespeare wrote the "Threnos," which is separated from the rest of the piece by a printer's ornament, and to which, thus separated, his name is put. It is credible only by traditionary faith that he wrote the whole.

III

"ROMEO AND JULIET"

I. THE GENERAL PROBLEM

For those who seek scrupulously to retrieve the real utterance of Shakespeare from the motley scrolls of the Folio, *ROMEO AND JULIET* presents a sufficiently difficult problem. But in their troubles they may, if maliciously inclined, take satisfaction in noting the much greater trials of the text-worshippers. Not even the psychoanalysis by which Dr. E. K. Chambers accounts for the conception of Helena by Shakespeare is more expressive of the penalty of traditionism than the confessions of those who are hypnotised by authority to the extent of the belief that *ROMEO AND JULIET* was *drafted* as well as revised by Shakespeare.

Doubt on the subject, indeed, does not make itself heard till the nineteenth century. Seymour, over Lady Capulet's couplets in praise of Paris (I, iii, 89), exclaims¹ at "these silly conceits, which are not in the first quarto, and probably never were Shakespeare's"; but it was left for Alexander Boswell, when Malone was out of the way, to avow the opinion that "Romeo and Juliet may be added to the list, already numerous, of our author's plays that had appeared in a dramatic shape before his performance, and that some slight remains of his predecessor are still to be traced in the earliest quarto."² That was not a period in which scientific criticism could make headway; and forty years were to elapse before Boswell's proposition found any editorial countenance.

¹ *Remarks upon the Plays of Shakespeare*, 1805, ii, 390.

² End of Introd. to Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet* in the 1821 Variorum.

But even then there was no preparedness for the inquiry among professed students; and to this day, probably, not one reader in a thousand has any suspicion that in *ROMEO AND JULIET* he can ever be reading non-Shakespearean matter. A sense of immaturity, a misgiving over crudities and falsities of style and sentiment, may be occasionally felt; but hardly an editor adverts to Boswell or Seymour. Dr. Chambers, venturously busied in divining and explaining Shakespeare's state of mind, has not a hint on the state of the play, beyond an allusion to the differences of the quarto texts.

And yet the troubles of the traditionist, if he will use his critical faculties at all, begin with the Prologue. That humble performance, which savours about as much of 1562 as of 1590, has to be accepted in speechless submission—not to the Folio, this time, for the Folio drops it, but to the (incomplete) consensus of the Quartos,¹ of which the first is pronounced "surreptitious." And as the principles of tradition dictate the conclusion of Professor Dowden that the draft is to be dated about 1595, we are once more called upon to regard the Young Master as dutifully reverting to the go-cart after he had written the *DREAM*, in deference to—what, this time? It will have to be once more, one fears, his Principle of Imitation. That mystic propensity, which, we are assured, sustained him through the fourfold plagiarism of contemporary styles in *TITUS*, through the devoted apery of Greene in the *TWO GENTLEMEN*, and through the tranced mimicry of Marlowe in the *ERRORS* and the two *RICHARDS*, must have led him to recover, in his oddly reverent way, the key and tune of two of the choruses to the old play which Brooke had seen on the stage in or before 1562, and to learn his lesson anew by piously parodying these. And still the spirit of reason—so repulsive, in its "austerity," to Dr. Chambers, when it incommodes him—refuses to genuflect before the icon thus held up to it.

That the Chorus "Sonnets" which precede and follow

¹ The first "chorus," or prologue, as we shall see, varies in the two Quartos; the second occurs only in the second Quarto.

Act I *may* have been written by Peele or Kyd, or by some still less poetically inspired drudge of the drama in the early 'nineties (they are too bad for Greene) seems likely enough; though the presence of an Argument to Brooke's poem in a "regular" sonnet form (*abba, acca, de de de*) makes it likely that the early play had "choruses" in that form. That they were written by Shakespeare, after he had practised rhyming to the extent of the VENUS AND ADONIS and the LUCRECE, is a proposition so unintelligent, so witless on the side of æsthetics, that there seems nothing for it but to beseech those who advance it to "'about' their brains." Dowden is significantly silent on the Prologue. On the "Chorus" at the end of the first Act, which, with the Globe editors and many others, he places as a prologue at the head of Act II,¹ he confesses that "Some critics doubt that it is by Shakespeare." The critic who can allow himself thus far to trust his judgment, and yet can suppose the first Prologue to be quite unquestionably Shakespearean, must be regarded as an interesting instance of the beginnings of critical teeth-cutting. It is probably the time-honoured line on "the two hours' traffic of our stage" that withholds him from cutting the second tooth, even out of due time. But the reader who cares to go through the psychic process, which is really not painful, may be assured that there were several pre-Shakespeareans who could produce so tolerable a line as that, without being poetic prodigies.

Ulrici, who, little as he was given to "disintegration," seems to have been the first to impeach the prologues, rejected both. The second he pronounced to be "one

¹ Dr. Johnson justifiably condemned this second Chorus as unnecessary and as conveying nothing worth penning; but there is an explanation which had not occurred to him or to the Variorum men. Mr. Darrell Figgis, in his *Shakespeare: A Study* (1911, p. 109) remarks that "Since the next act is opened by a chorus, in function of Prologue, it is easy to see that this is to cover the operation of the removers" [of chairs and tables] "for there very likely was no cessation in the acting from beginning to end of a play." This suggestion of motive for the feeble "Chorus" seems a sound one; and if Mr. Figgis had noted that in Q 2 it stands not at the beginning of Act II but at the end of Act I, he would have made it still more plausible. But its disappearance from the Folio seems to tell of a change in stage methods, involving a real pause. Mr. Figgis appears to have no misgiving about the Shakespearean authorship of the Chorus.

of those 'without book prologues'" [which it is not!] "to which reference was made in i, iv, 7. It is so empty, prosaic, and barren, and so wholly pointless, that in my opinion it is impossible that it could ever have flowed from Shakespeare's pen." But of the first also he declared that it "is probably not Shakespeare's, and was therefore omitted by Heminge and Condell."¹ The "therefore" is probably wrong; but the judgments are deserving of commemoration as exhibiting some sense of style qualities on the part of a German editor when English criticism was wholly impercipient.

That those two feeble performances should to this day be unquestioningly reprinted in almost every edition, for generations after a conservative German editor had recognised their quality, is one of the many illustrations of the fact so often forced on us in these inquiries, that there is in scholarly English criticism a prevailing mental attitude of not merely unscientific but anti-scientific credulity which makes that criticism fatally unliterary. Dr. Chambers has explained to us that the lack of a special literary discipline at the more important universities is the reason why all discussions of the authorship of *TITUS ANDRONICUS* have been so inadequate as to fail to "convince" everybody. His own fashion of editing *ROMEO AND JULIET* we shall indeed find to indicate a need for new literary discipline both within and without the universities. It amounts to a spinning of æsthetic cobwebs comparable only to his handling of *ALL'S WELL*. But if we are to wait for the intelligent recognition of style qualities in the Elizabethan drama till the universities breed a race of scientific editors, our scholarly criticism must for many a day remain a scandal to the critical sense. The lectures of Dr. Bradley have indeed elicited much just admiration; but a generation of critics worthy of them had not yet appeared.

The discussions of the early commentators on our play have turned mainly on its sources; and to this day that question is handled with the frequent assumption or

¹ Cited in Furness's Variorum ed. of the play, notes *in locis*.

suggestion that Shakespeare, as first draftsman, had recourse for his plot to Italian books over and above Brooke's poem of *ROMEUS AND JULIET*. It is a matter of common knowledge that Brooke in his address "To the Reader" (1562) mentions having seen "the same argument lately set foorth on stage with . . . commendation"; and the obvious fitness of the theme for dramatic treatment was and is apparently recognised by everybody, in all countries.

Professor Gollancz, indeed, argues not unjustly that "it is difficult to imagine a popular Romantic play belonging to this early date (c. 1562)"; and goes on to suggest that "no doubt Brooke was referring to some such academic production as *TANCRED AND GISMUNDA*; possibly the play in question was an exercise in Latin verse, acted in a College Hall or at the Inns of Court."¹ But Professor Gollancz will perhaps admit, on challenge, that his negative argument is invalidated by its recoil upon itself. Were not Brooke's poem preserved, it would have been just as "difficult to imagine a popular Romantic *poem* belonging to this early date." How far either work was "popular" in 1562 we cannot tell; but there they both were.

Somebody had to begin; and there is really no warrant for inferring that a play described as "set forth *on stage*" was a Latin exercise² whether played at a College or at the Inns of Court. *GORBODUC* (*FERREX AND PORREX*), the first English tragedy in blank verse and rhymed, was played by the gentlemen of the Inner Temple before the Queen in that very year. Its theme

¹ Introd. to 'Temple' ed. of *Romeo and Juliet*, pp. x-xi.

² Professor Gollancz makes an interesting report that "there exist indeed among the Sloane MSS. the fragments of a Latin version of the story, evidently the exercise of a Cambridge student; but the MS. belongs, I think, to the beginning of the seventeenth century. It is nevertheless an interesting curiosity." It must be. And why has the matter not been exactly investigated by our English historians of literature? Mr. H. de W. Fuller supplies the explanation that the MS. is almost illegible. Dr. Chambers (*Elizabethan Stage*, iv, 378) merely notes that "According to H. de W. Fuller, in *Modern Philology*, iv (1906), 41, this (*Romeus et Julietta* (c. 1615) *Sloane MS.* 1775, f. 442) is a fragment based on A. Brooke's *Romeus and Juliet*, probably a student's exercise, with corrections. It is datable by two poems in the same hand on the royal visit to Cambridge in 1615." So far, then, the Sloane MS. furnishes no reason for supposing that the early play seen by Brooke was in Latin.

and motive are the danger of civil strife; and we shall find that that very lesson is put in the forefront of the earliest dramatic form of *ROMEO AND JULIET* thus far traced. Furthermore, Gascoigne's comedy entitled *SUPPOSES*, a translation of Ariosto's *I SUPPOSITI*, was played at Gray's Inn in the same year as his tragedy *JOCASTA*, 1566; and the rhymed *TRAGICALL COMEDY OF APIUS AND VIRGINIA*, printed in 1575, "was probably acted as early as 1563"¹—by the Westminster scholars, Fleay thinks. *GISMONDE OF SALERNE*, adapted from an Italian novel, and written in rhymed quatrains, was played before the Queen in 1568. In view of these known activities of early Elizabethan drama, beginning in 1562, the reasonable presumption is that the early *ROMEO AND JULIET*, though probably played by law students and collegians (it would hardly suit a public school!) was in English.

And, once produced, it was likely, for the very reasons that would make it unsuitable for Westminster School, to be taken up by professional players as soon as might be. There were certainly travelling companies of actors in the 'sixties; and it would be hard to guess a subject more likely to be popular, even then, than this, handled with average intelligence. It had just the mixture of attractions which the actors always craved—a true-love tale, fighting, scenes of masking and mirth, and a quite exceptionally exciting plot. No play of the period, in fact, was more likely to become popular in town or country.

Yet it is taken for granted that the old play was allowed to fall into oblivion in England by the pre-Shakespearean playwrights of the 'eighties; and that men so constantly on the look-out for new subjects as were Kyd, Marlowe, Greene and Peele, left it to Shakespeare about 1595 to rediscover a staged story so much to their purpose. In the same fashion it has been assumed that they left to him the themes of *Julius Cæsar*, *Henry V*, *Richard II*, and *Richard III*. It will perhaps be provisionally conceded that such

¹ Ward, i, 204.

abstinence on the part of the hungry group who preceded Shakespeare on the Elizabethan stage is particularly unlikely as regards Romeo and Juliet. And if the likelihood of their selecting it, among them, be granted, it will perhaps be recognised that Kyd, Greene, and Peele, who all read Italian, are each rather more likely than Shakespeare to have done any reading that may have yielded details not found in Brooke.

The old play may have been in rhyming quatrains like GISMONDE OF SALERNE, or in "jigging" or "fourteener" verse, like Brooke's poem, like DAMON AND PYTHIAS (1566) or like FIDELE AND FORTUNIO, and like portions of the COMEDY OF ERRORS, some of them probably preserved from the old HISTORIE OF ERROR. Such a play was particularly sure to be rewritten by one or other of the "academic" poets; and the first Act of our tragedy goes far to show that they took it up about or before 1590. In the blank verse of the first scene (where Shakespeare seems to have done revision, though "Profaners of this neighbour-stained steel" can hardly be an improvement on anything) there is only one double-ending; in the second, which like the first runs largely to rhyme, there are only four; in the third, seven; in the fourth, where Shakespeare seems recognisable, and there is hardly any rhyme, we have not one double-ending; while in the important fifth scene there is but one, unless we count "towards" a dissyllable. Thus the first Act, as we have it in the second Quarto, has about the lowest percentage of double-endings in the entire Folio. It is in this respect not only early work for Shakespeare but early work for any of his first corrivals. In the second Act, again, there are but twelve or fourteen double-endings, all told: it is only the later Acts that bring the play up to the percentage of 8.2, slightly above the DREAM.

When to these data we join the phenomenon of the two archaic "choruses" we are simply compelled, if we will be reasonable critics, to consider *de novo* the whole question of the origination of the existing play. Since

the question of a prior play was raised by Grant White in 1865 and negatived by Spalding in 1878, there seems to have been no systematic discussion; though Mr. Frank Marshall, in the 'Henry Irving' edition, had intelligently assented to the theory of a prior form. It is fitting, then, to set out with an examination of the discussion in question, after certain preliminary reflections.

The question is to be tried strictly on æsthetic and bibliographical evidence of all kinds. The play must be considered in all its aspects. But it may be well to put in advance one more warning as to the risks of unsound presupposition. *ROMEO AND JULIET* as a whole, with all its blots and faults in detail, is so high and fine a tragedy, so richly orchestrated a composition, as compared with all the work of the pre-Shakespeareans, that there is a very natural and general disposition to reject point-blank the notion that any one but Shakespeare can have fathered it. Save Greene, none of the pre-Shakespeareans has movingly presented a true-love-theme in drama. Marlowe, though his *HERO AND LEANDER* tells of indefinite potentialities on that side, is merely rhetorical in his treatment of man's and woman's love in *TAMBURLAINE*, and makes no great advance in *THE JEW*. Peele strikes a more sensuous, but hardly a more impassioned note: it is Greene, with his Margaret and Dorothea, Lacy and Eustace, that best touches the strings of the love of woman and man; and we cannot pretend to see in Greene the main draftsman of the primary *ROMEO AND JULIET*. Thus it might seem that Shakespeare alone could be the draftsman; and such a conviction doubtless accounted for the unthinking resistance of critics like Spalding to the hypotheses of White and Fleay.

But they made no fit allowance for the all-important fact that in the admitted *sources* of the play—Brooke's poem; Painter's prose; and the Italian tales—the pre-Shakespearean playwrights found to their hands an already highly-developed love-interest, such as underlay no play of theirs that we possess. Where Marlowe and

Peele and Kyd had had for their previous handling of love-themes (unless *ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM* be earlier) only bare situations, they could here find a vividly detailed story already so warmly coloured with Italian feeling, so charged with passion and penalty, love and death, that it must have touched any one of them to finer issues than they had ever yet raised. Shakespeare himself, we may firmly say, could not have drafted so moving a drama without Brooke's poem and Painter's prose to found upon: the whole many-coloured material is there, and if it can be understood as inspiring him, it must have gone far to inspire to new effort and new achievement any or all of the four playwrights who may be conceived as having handled it while he was in his nonage.

It is on the strictly analogous basis of a vivid narrative (in that case, of an actual series of events) that Kyd finds inspiration for a new dramatic realism, and a new reality of passion, in *ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM*; after he had found in the story of Hamlet a theme which enlarged his scope, though it needed Shakespeare to raise it to the plane of greatness. This vital factor, the opportunity given by a great *story*, has not been duly recognised by criticism even after Arnold.

The attitude of the rational inquirer, then, should not be constrained by the mere recollection of the treatment of love in *THE SPANISH TRAGEDY* and *DAVID AND BETHSABE* and *THE JEW OF MALTA*. Remembering what Kyd achieved in *ARDEN* and Greene in *FRIAR BACON* and *JAMES IV*, he should realise that a tale to which ages of legend and generations of story-telling art had lent an unparalleled interest could enable them or other experienced play-makers of the Elizabethan time to reach a new height of dramatic art. The necessary compactness of drama forced upon the story, so diffusely told in both the rhymed and the prose forms, a new greatness of effect. Given reasonable openness of mind to these factors, the data will speak for themselves; for the diction sufficiently often betrays alien hands.

The student may usefully keep in view from the first those disconcerting passages of un-Shakespearean verse and poor literary quality which, as we shall see, moved the first defenders of the tradition as regards this play to seek preposterous solutions. It is not merely the passages which they sought to wrest that tell of the alien origination of the piece. If it is to be claimed as necessarily drafted by Shakespeare because of its elevation of feeling, account will have to be taken of its abject failures to reach right feeling, as in Juliet's deplorable puns on *I* and *eye* and *aye*, and the unspeakable line (III, iii, 41):

Flies may do this, but I from this must fly,

of which we must sadly confess that there is nothing worse in serious Elizabethan drama. The only meet course is to seek honestly to get at all the facts, and scrupulously to balance the account.

II. THE VIEWS OF GRANT WHITE, FLEAY, AND SPALDING

In his paper "On the First Quarto of ROMEO AND JULIET: Is there any Evidence of a Second Hand in it?" read to the New Shakspeare Society on 11th January 1878, Spalding summarises the views of Grant White and Fleay on the subject. Grant White's, set forth in his edition of Shakespeare, was that the first Quarto "represents imperfectly a composition not entirely Shakespeare's"; and that the difference between the first and second Quartos "is owing partly to the rejection by him of the work of a co-labourer; partly to the surreptitious and inadequate means by which the copy of the earlier edition was obtained; and partly perhaps, though to a very much less degree, to Shakespeare's elaboration of what he himself had written." Fleay's theory, set forth by him in an article in *Macmillan's Magazine*, July 1877, was that the first draft of this play was made about 1593, probably by

George Peele; that after his death it was partly revised by Shakespeare, and produced at the Curtain Theatre in 1596 in the shape in which we find it as printed in the first Quarto; and that he subsequently revised it completely as we read it in the second Quarto. Fleay, it will be noted, did not at this stage reckon the first Quarto "surreptitious," though that was then the generally accepted view.

Spalding adhered to that view, and gave reasons for holding the first Quarto to be a pirated report, laying special stress, as Grant White had done before him, on the fact that its stage directions are often of no apparent technical service to the actors, but give a somewhat vivid picture of the action as seen on the stage. The argument is interesting, and so far persuasive; but as the whole problem of piracy has become more complex in the light of various recent investigations, that issue may, for our purposes, be at this point put aside. Fleay's theory must stand or fall on its merits, whether or not we take the first Quarto to be piratical, and on neither view is his theory, as he put it, satisfying. Seeing further that almost immediately after publishing his essay he accepted the piracy theory in his 'Guide to the Study of Shakespeare,' it ceases to concern us over the problem of authorship as raised by him.

Fleay's temperament was one of quick nervous reaction, and alike in resistance and in submission to hostile criticism he was apt to be over-balanced. An intuitive critic, remarkable for his multitude of right *aperçus*, he lacked the basis of a logical method and the stability which such a method alone can give. No man threw out a larger number of fresh lights on the manifold problems of the Elizabethan drama. Those who oftenest disparage him have yielded no such service. But his intuitive proclivity committed him to many positions and propositions which could not be maintained; and, feeling himself, as he must often have done, not only outvoted but out-argued on these, he became unconfident on some issues where he was really right in the main. Thus he gave way before the

opposition to his opinion that Peele was the main draftsman of *TITUS*. In the same fashion he seems to have given way to the general rejection of his view that the first Quarto of *ROMEO AND JULIET* was not a product of piratical reporting. In his first attitude, as I think we shall see, he was quite right. The "piratical" theory was a false if a natural hypothesis. Yet it held its ground. In the kingdom of the blind, says the proverb, the one-eyed is king. But in respect of neither circumstance is his career likely to be a happy one.

Spalding indeed admits, *quoad hoc*, the substantial truth of Fleay's claim that the misprints are fewer in the first than in the second Quarto, and, further, that they mostly suggest errors of the eye, due to the printer, rather than errors of the ear, due to a piratical reporter. He admits also that the speech of the Friar beginning:

And in this borrowed likeness of shrunk death

(Q 1: IV, i) in the short version in Q 1 reads correctly, while in the second the lines

Be borne to burial in thy kindred's grave :
Thou shalt be borne to that same ancient vault

upset the syntax, and point to an intended substitution of the second line for the first. But not only is this, as Spalding contends, an inadequate proof that the first Quarto is non-piratical: it contributes nothing to the theory of Peele's authorship.

That theory proceeds reasonably, at the outset, on the fact that Shakespeare's name does not appear on any of the Quartos (a circumstance to which Spalding declines to accord any definite significance, though he admits it to be "rather curious" that the second bore no name), but the further steps are unconvincing. Founding on the metrical phenomena, Fleay calls attention to :

1. Lines deficient by a foot or head syllable ;
2. The number of Alexandrines ;
3. Lines with a superfluous strong syllable that does not occur after a pause ;

admitting that the first two categories in themselves yield no conclusion, but implying that they confirm the hypothesis if Peele's presence be proved in respect of the third. And we must assent to Spalding's contention that that yields no such proof. Lines of the kind specified occur frequently in EDWARD I; but that is a very corrupt text; and the only line of the kind in DAVID AND BETHSABE, which is in comparison a very good text, is plainly corrupt. The theory then so far collapses. Fleay indicates that he selected it from several lines of argument to prove Peele's authorship. It is a pity that he did not indicate and develop the others, seeing that this comes to nothing. Given a text with many plainly faulty verse lines, a number of which are inferably miscopied or misprinted, it is impossible to deduce authorship from the faults alone.

When the question of difference between the Quartos arises out of real change in the text, Fleay does not mend his case. Comparing the two versions of Paris's rhymed elegy at Juliet's grave, he draws the startling inference that Shakespeare altered the first version for the worse. Thus they run:—¹

FIRST QUARTO

Sweet Flower, with flowers I strew thy Bridal bed:

Sweet Tomb that in thy circuit does contain

The perfect model of eternity:

Fair Juliet that with angels dost remain,

Accept this latest favour at my hands,

That living honour'd thee, and being dead,

With funeral praises do adorn thy tomb.

SECOND QUARTO

Sweet flower, with flowers thy Bridal bed I strew:

O woe, thy canopy is dust and stones,

Which with sweet water nightly will I dew,

Or, wanting that, with tears distill'd by moans.

The obsequies that I for thee will keep

Nightly shall be to strew thy grave and weep.

¹ I reduce both to modern spelling, as the variants are non-significant.

Over the plain fact that the second form is worse than the first, Fleay falls into sheer self-contradiction, first saying that Shakespeare could not have done the inferior dirge, and then that he "found it easier to write a new one than to remodel the other: thus obtaining the form he wanted, though with inferior matter."

Thus far, Spalding has in the main an easy victory. When, however, he puts his own view of the two dirges, he is no more satisfying than Fleay. The first version he pronounces to be "an imperfect representation of an earlier dirge which Shakespeare subsequently replaced by the stanza in the second Quarto," for the two reasons that the first dirge had set out to be a regular rhyming stanza but did not attain to it, and that its sense is confused, the apostrophes to "Flower" and "Tomb" being uncombined. Spalding concludes that "the *Reporter* has made a mess of it"; and he in turn decides that on *that* account Shakespeare substituted the second version. As if the poet could not easily have put right the Reporter's mess, if his it were; and as if the second dirge were not a worse mess still, in its æsthetic impotence—unless we are to fall back on the violent hypothesis that the poet designedly made Paris's elegy a bad one.

At this stage, the reader will perhaps be prepared to admit that the first Quarto, whether piratical or not, probably embodies a pre-Shakespearean original; going on to admit that the second also tells of no complete re-writing by Shakespeare, this second dirge, for instance, being probably by another hand than his. It may have been rewritten by way of substituting a regular for an irregularly-rhymed stanza; and it may or may not be by the same hand as wrote the first; but neither suggests Shakespeare, save on the very unlikely hypothesis above indicated.

The piracy theory, in short, is quite inadequate to the phenomena presented by the two texts, whether or not it be sound in itself. Piracy or no piracy, the first text was largely un-Shakespearean. In cases analogous

to that of the two dirges, where lines are actually rewritten, we have the same phenomenon of recasting, frequently without notable improvement. The two versions of the first Chorus yield fairly decisive proof that the flaws in the first version are not a matter of mere misreporting; and even the second version, as in the case of the dirges, is not a recognisable recast by Shakespeare. Both are of third-rate workmanship, and the first distinctly hints of 1562:—

FIRST QUARTO

Two household friends alike in dignity,
 (In fair Verona, where we lay our Scene)
 From civil broils broke into enmity,
 Whose civil war makes civil hands unclean.
 From forth the fatal loins of these two foes
 A pair of star-crossed Lovers took their life :
 Whose misadventures, piteous overthrows,
 (Through the continuing of their Fathers' strife,
 And death-marked passage of their Parents' rage)
 Is now the two-hours' traffic of our Stage.
 The which if you with patient ears attend
 What here we want, we'll study to amend.

SECOND QUARTO

Two households both alike in dignity,
 (In fair Verona, where we lay our Scene)
 From ancient grudge break to new mutiny,
 Where civil blood makes civil hands unclean.
 From forth the fatal loins of these two foes
 A pair of star-crossed lovers take their life :
 Whose misadventur'd piteous overthrows
 Doth with their death bury their Parents' strife.
 The fearful passage of their death-mark'd love,
 And the continuance of their Parents' rage,
 Which but their children's end nought could remove,
 Is now the two hours' traffic of our Stage.
 The which if you with patient ears attend,
 What here shall miss, our toil shall strive to mend.

P. A. Daniel, in his valuable parallel-text edition of the First Two Quartos, notes several passages which, if they really existed in the original play in anything like the form they present in Q 1, must have been rewritten

for Q 2; and he further specifies passages which were certainly recast, inasmuch as the re-writer leaves traces of his work by failing to secure deletion of passages meant to be superseded. But the evidence of rewriting is abundant, and it begins with the Choruses. The alteration of "two household friends" into "two households *both*" is not a rectification of a reporter's error but an awkward modification of an awkward statement. The first writer meant what he said: the second saw that to call Capulet and Montague household friends, *as the play stands*, was confusing. "Enmity" may have been a misprint for "mutiny," which had then an established force of "broil"; but "ancient grudge" is another clumsy improvement on "civil broils," where again the statement is bad. "Misadventures" may or may not have been a misprint for an original "misadventur'd," but that is again a bad stroke; and the re-writing of lines 8 and 9 of the first version into four is again a bad recomposition of matter felt to be obscurely compressed. Poor work had been poorly revised. And the reviser is but a third-rate craftsman, unable to do better. To assume that the craftsman in question is the author of the DREAM, and that *he* is further the author of the second Chorus, is critically unwarrantable, the more so seeing that no Quarto of the play bears his name.

Striving to trace the real hands, we come in collision with Spalding's unhappy attempt to account for some of the most palpably un-Shakespearean matter in the play as wilful Shakespearean parody—an early apparition of the Protean "Imitation Theory." Very justly did Fleay argue that the Q 1 form of the laments over Juliet when she is supposed to be dead are in a style which "is nowhere used by Shakespeare, and is utterly discordant with the genius of his dramatic writings." The reader of to-day will surely assent. Thus they run:—

Cap. Cruel, unjust, impartial destinies,
 Why to this day have you preserved my life?
 To see my hope, my stay, my joy, my life,
 Deprived of sense, of life, of all, by death.
 Cruel, unjust, impartial destinies.

*Cap.*¹ O sad-fac'd sorrow, map of misery,
 Why this sad time have I desired to see?
 This day, this unjust, this impartial day,
 Wherein I hop'd to see my comfort full,
 To be depriv'd by sudden destiny.

Moth(er). Oh woe, alack, distress'd, why should I live?
 To see this day, this miserable day.
 Alack the time that ever I was born
 To be partaker of this destiny.
 Alack the day, alack and well-a-day!

"Of what writer," asks Spalding, "*is this style characteristic?* Mr. Fleay," he goes on, "*does not venture to assert that it is in Peele's style, although both Peele and Greene were fond of a series of speeches winding up with the same refrain.*" The nearest approach to it is the lament of David and his friends on leaving Jerusalem; where three speeches of 4, 5 and 6 lines of bombast respectively end with a similar refrain." This is broadly correct—except that in the scene mentioned there are four speeches, of 3, 4, 5 and 5 lines—and it is a much better vindication of Fleay's thesis than his own argument from irregular lines. Apparently the regularity of Peele's verse in DAVID had withheld him from citing such evidence, seeing that he was founding on an argument from irregularities. In point of fact, as Spalding admits while ostensibly denying it, the laments in the first Quarto of ROMEO *are* very much in Peele's manner. That trick of vacuous reiteration constantly recurs in his work. Over the dead Absalon David wails:

O Absalon, Absalon! O my son, my son!
 Would God that I had died for Absalon!
 And he is dead, ah, dead! Absalon is dead:
 And David lives to die for Absalon;

and Absalon in the same parrotic fashion wails for himself. It was Peele's way of being pathetic; being indeed a helpless resort to an old mode of rhetoric which he employs constantly in his poems.² Here, *pro tanto*,

¹ Evidently an error of assignment. The second speaker would be either the Nurse or Paris, more probably the latter, though Spalding held otherwise.

² See *An Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon*, pp. 196-208.

there is a real and a strong case for Peele's presence in the first Quarto. And Spalding's counter-plea is a masterpiece of misjudgment:—

Let us see what Shakespeare actually did do in the second Quarto. According to his usual practice, he has introduced a light bustling comic scene immediately after the crisis when Juliet takes the potion, and the comedy is unfortunately carried on into that part of the scene where the discovery of the death takes place, a blot which, I venture to think, would not have been allowed to disfigure the play had Shakespeare revised it in his more mature period. In this scene the Nurse and old Capulet at any rate, perhaps the Mother too, are *purely comic*, and the *fun* consists of the parody of the ravings of Hieronimo in that well-abused play, *THE SPANISH TRAGEDY*. The Nurse's ejaculatory bombast is of *exactly the same nature as the speeches Shakespeare put in the mouth of Pyramus* in a certain 'tedious brief scene'; and the two lines:

O love, O life, not life but love in death,

and

O child, O child, my soul and not my child,

are only two out of many parodies on Hieronimo's

O eyes! no eyes, but fountains fraught with tears:

O life! no life, but lively form in death:

O world! no world but mass of public wrongs.

"It is clear *therefore*," proceeds Spalding in a placid *non sequitur*, "that there is nothing 'discordant with the genius of Shakespeare's dramatic writings' in the introduction of a piece of comic satire upon the style of the elder dramatists at this point of the play."

As if the use of parody in a humorous scene in a comedy were a proof that the dramatist would employ the same method in a mourning-scene in a tragedy!

Turning back to the passage in Q 1, Spalding, rejecting Fleay's ascription of the second "*Cap.*" speech to Paris, argues that if assignable to any other character than Capulet it should be to the Nurse; and concludes:—

"If then the Nurse is the speaker of one of these passages, we have got this far; that *all* the speakers in the portion in question may be looked upon as *comic characters*. The scene therefore is *probably intended to be a comic satire, as its substitute in the second Quarto manifestly is*. This *probably* comic scene bears a *slight* resemblance (!) to the peculiarities of some of Shakespeare's predecessors in the Dramatic Art. It *therefore* represents a piece

of satire on those peculiarities; but it is impossible to say exactly upon what passages it is a satire, as we only possess the note-taker's version of what is a very animated (!) and complicated dialogue, which probably wanted a good deal of touching up before it went to press."

When it is added that Grant White, for his part, wrote concerning the laments in Act iv, that while those of the second Quarto were plainly written in caricature of pre-Shakespearean work,

"yet the purposely commonplace character of the lamentations in the later version seems to me not plainer than that the bathos of the earlier is the result of a hopeless and ambitious flight of lofty sentiment,"¹

we have a full view of the critical fiasco entailed upon both writers by the obstinate presuppositions that either Q 1 or Q 2, or both, *must* be of Shakespeare's drafting. White could not even allow himself the benefit of his own perception that the elegiacs of the first Quarto are not Shakespearean fooling but pre-Shakespearean fumbling.

Spalding's misjudgment, as coming from the more judicial critic and being the more completely astray, is the more grievous of the two. Grant White's assumption that the laments in the second Quarto are planned caricature is bad enough: Spalding's confident pronouncement that both sets are "comic" is a critical monstrosity. From the premiss of the bare fact that scenes of light bustle in some Shakespeare plays (as in others) follow upon scenes of high tension, he lamely proceeds to the conclusion that in the case of the laments over the apparently dead Juliet "the comedy is *unfortunately* carried on into that part of the scene where the discovery of the death takes place"; and this alleged offensive handling he perforce admits to be a "blot." Yet he is arguing that the blot is constituted by a deliberate rewriting, with a wholly satirical purpose, of a scene which in the first Quarto also had been intended to be comic. The first version, that is to say,

¹ Ed. of Shakespeare, 1865, x, 24.

is in stupidly bad taste ; and the second, being deliberately rewritten by the same hand, Shakespeare's, is more senselessly offensive still.

There needs no appeal to any sentiment of reverence for Shakespeare in order to repel such a proposition. The alleged procedure would have been an inane outrage on the part of any Elizabethan dramatist. The scene under discussion is one of parents grieving over their only child, whom they believe to lie before them dead, on the threshold of her marriage ; and the most elementary sense of dramatic fitness would dictate the representation of them as truly mourning. A dramatist who should in such a case decide to make their grief burlesque because the girl was not really dead would be literally beneath contempt, as a *crétin* fitly to be removed from the theatre. Grant White was so far plainly right in pronouncing that the version in the first Quarto is a hopeless attempt at pathetic sentiment. *His* collapse consists in the astonishing assumption that Shakespeare or any other dramatist not morally and æsthetically half-witted could deliberately turn the wretched elegiacs of the first performer into systematic burlesque.

The principle of "comic relief" we know : it dictated a change from grave to gay ; but here "relief" is declared to be superseded by turning the grave itself into farce—the actors "guying" their own work, not once in a way, but by author's plan ; a thing unimaginable if we will realise the proposition. Was it any sane dramatist's business to turn into ridicule a scene of grief in his own tragedy ? Would even the clown have been allowed in England to do so ? Would not such an outrage be a plain invitation to the groundlings to resort to catcalls over the final death-scene, on the score that all this was only acting, nobody having really died ? Are we really to suppose that any dramatist in Shakespeare's day would dream of wrecking the necessary frame of stage illusion to the extent of making the actors in effect put their thumbs to their noses and their tongues in their cheeks in a scene of grief

which was carrying the action to a speedy tragical close?

It is, I think, not unwarrantable to pronounce that such reason-wronging criticism is a crowning proof of the stupefying effect of traditionist orthodoxy on the intelligence of scholars well gifted for true criticism. Nothing else could conceivably have swayed such a capable mind as Spalding's thus to impute to Shakespeare a procedure which would disgrace Peele. The challenge to his belief in the Canon set him upon a line of argument which makes Shakespeare worthy of the contempt that Mr. Shaw has bestowed upon him. Grant White's ill-considered compromise yields the same net result. And Spalding and White do not stand alone. Dowden, not to be turned from his canonical faith as to ROMEO any more than as to HAMLET; unable to assent to the verdict that the Choruses are non-Shakespearean; unable even to doubt that the "O love" and "O child" lines are, as Spalding claimed, *parodies* of Kyd by Shakespeare, makes the halting avowal that "Yet there is something inartificial¹ in 'introducing' such irony of literary criticism into the body of the play."² Spalding more outspokenly called it a "blot"; and a blot it would be in the work of the poorest craftsman of the age. But such a blot would be worse than the blunder which is worse than a crime: it would be a dramatic imbecility; and to this length of aspersion on Shakespeare has orthodox criticism gone in the determination to maintain the traditional Canon.

Recognising as much, the uncorrupted reader, at least, is partly prepared for a critical procedure which, noting Peelean and Kydian work where it absolutely obtrudes itself, confesses that the sane inference is that of a prior play-structure in which, whatever else may have happened, some work of Peele is now overlaid by work of Kyd, Shakespeare's share being more or less clearly distinguishable from both. ROMEO AND JULIET,

¹ Meaning inartistic—the Elizabethan force of the term.

² Introd. to "Arden" ed. p. xx.

we begin to see, for ourselves, is one more composite play.

III. PEELE AND THE PRIMARY PLAY

After noting the undeniable collapse of Fleay's original undertaking to prove Peele the draftsman of the first Quarto, we have seen that he had real though unavowed grounds for his hypothesis. Whether the statement of those grounds would have made any serious impression in the 'seventies, indeed, may well be doubted. Fleay's ascriptions of authorship were at best lacking in the matter of patient collection and collation of evidence; and his contemporaries were at best far more ready to flout him than to learn from him. The outcome is that after half-a-century of critical apathy we have to set about doing with comparative circumspection what he in his haste failed to do for the establishment of his own hypothesis. The intervening editors have contributed nothing.

The first step is to insist on the really Peelean quality of those laments in the first Quarto which Fleay rightly pronounced utterly un-Shakespearean, but which his unlucky thesis of irregular versification deterred him from ascribing to Peele, where even the hostile Spalding could not quite miss seeing that they were in Peele's manner. *Prima facie*, they are Peele's serious work. If they are burlesque, then the laments in DAVID are burlesque also. A burlesque *effect*, indeed, Peele's serious work often sets up in a reader's mind, as I have elsewhere observed;¹ but though he actually had a better sense and gift of humour than either Greene or Marlowe, his grotesque mannerisms in serious verse are simply the natural products of his hamstrung poetics. He "could no other." That he at times perceived the absurdity of his own rants and his own elegiacs is quite likely; and he may have produced them in the way of trade like any hardened ballad-monger; but they were no more intended to make audiences laugh than were

¹ *Introduction to the Study of the Canon*, p. 204.

those passages in the SPANISH TRAGEDY declared by our traditionists to have been parodied in ROMEO. As to this we may be positive.

Parodied the TRAGEDY often was ; as was the work of Peele in such phrases as "Feed and be fat, my fair Callipolis." Shakespeare in comedy scenes so parodies Marlowe and Peele alike. But to make an entire mourning-scene in a tragedy a wilful travesty, by parodying the diction of another tragedy, would be a flight of offensive fooling as impossible to any of the Elizabethans as it is to us. Had the phenomena under notice occurred in any anonymous play *outside* the Shakespeare Canon, every critic would at once have reasoned that in the first Quarto we have a set of bankrupt elegiacs by Peele, and that in the second they are superseded by another set from the pen of Kyd.

Echoes of themselves, as every student knows, were normal expedients for the whole of the four pre-Shakespeareans whose work visibly enters into the Folio ; and Kyd has simply echoed himself in this instance as he does many times in his known plays. Such typical phrases of his as "rest in unrest" were indeed apparently used by other men ; but even Peele could as easily coin his own vacuities as copy the tags of Kyd. Once the impossible parody theory is dismissed to the limbo of Ptolemaic dogmatics, his handiwork in ROMEO stands out for what it is—part of his contribution (about 1590) to a new version of an old tragedy on a popular theme.

How far then did his contribution go? It is over this question that our real difficulties begin. We are dealing with a composite play in which, to start with, we recognise at different stages his hand and Kyd's. But in respect of verse movement his style and Kyd's differ only in fluidity ; and in short runs, where they are not indulging their most marked mannerisms, it must be hard to make sure of either as against the other. Fleay guessed Peele to be the draftsman of the whole of the first blank-verse form. But in the first Quarto of ROMEO, as in the first Quarto of HAMLET, we already find the hand of Shakespeare abundantly

evident in the diction and versification; though in the second Quarto, in each case, we find non-Shakespearean matter of apparently later date. Further, we find in both much matter which is neither Peelean nor Shakespearean, nor possibly Kyd's. This is no easy labyrinth to tread.

At this stage, however, we may usefully clear our path of the problem of piracy. If it be open to question (as it certainly is¹) whether the first Quarto of *HAMLET* is a purely piratical undertaking, it is still more questionable whether the *ROMEO* first Quarto is such.² So much of that is accurate by the test of Q 2—which can often be corrected in detail from the other—that we are almost at once led to the inference that it is simply one of the cases, latterly recognised as common, in which a play had been *curtailed* for the use of a travelling company, and, getting ultimately into the hands of the printers, was by them published in disregard of its incompleteness. The whole imagined apparatus of the short-hand "Reporter" is fitly to be dismissed. There has been no such reporting, but simply a use of an old curtailed text, probably modified in parts, where the holders of the full text have gone on modifying that. On this view all the phenomena are intelligible. The inferiority or fragmentariness of the text in *parts* of Q 1 is explicable as due to loss or mutilation of some actors' parts in the course of years, while there are plain instances of early matter dropped from Q 2. And the descriptive stage directions, so often stressed as proofs of piracy, might very well have been either insertions at an early stage for the benefit of a travelling company or the contribution of a redactor conscious of the deficiencies of the version.³

In point of fact, many of the omissions from Q 1 tell

¹ See Professor F. G. Hubbard's edition of the *Hamlet* first Quarto (Univ. of Wisconsin, 1920) and his essay on "The Readings of the First Quarto of *Hamlet*." Pub. of Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America, 1923.

² Since this was written, there has appeared the new edition of this Quarto by Professor Hubbard, which comprehensively confutes the piracy theory.

³ Professor Hubbard (Introd. pp. 11-17) on this head demonstrates that such descriptive stage directions are really common in plays of the period. I leave my suggestions standing for what they may be worth.

not of failure to report but of deliberate elision from an acting text. Where the elisions occur in the speeches of Juliet and the Nurse, it may be suspected that either because of less skill in the travelling boy-players or by reason of provincial prejudice the female parts as such were specially curtailed; but when we note the matter omitted it is difficult to doubt that at times critical common-sense has been at work. The curtailment of Juliet's soliloquy to the first four lines is a proceeding of that kind; and it was no bad judgment that eliminated Juliet's cataract of puns over the Nurse's confused news of the killing of Tybalt. And though in Mercutio's Queen Mab speech we find in Q 1 the reading 'Burgomaster' for 'Alderman,' the fact that it gives the speech in verse where Q 2 puts it as prose, and correctly where that is incorrect, should suffice to prove that the printers had the use of a 'theatre copy.'

Dr. Herford, who about 1899 wrote that "All critics agree that the First Quarto is a pirated text, made up from notes taken in the theatre, eked out by occasional access to the MS,"¹ will perhaps now admit that that was an ill-considered consensus. His words indeed overstate the claim as put by Daniel, who recognised the use, in part, of true copies, and held the version to be only "partly from recollection and from notes taken during the performance." It is indeed difficult to understand how critics at any time can have supposed that "note-taking in the theatre" can in Shakespeare's day have yielded so much exactly corresponding text as we find in Q 1 compared with Q 2.² Present-day shorthand could ill be relied-on for such a service; and all that we know of Elizabethan stenography points to some such verdict as Heywood passed on the texts of plays of his so obtained.³ How, again, could "occasional access to the MS." be obtained by pirates merely to "eke out" their copy? If they had such "access" at all why should they not use it to the full? Critics who

¹ Eversley ed. of Shakespeare, vii, 390.

² Cp. Professor Hubbard, pref.

³ Pref. to his *Rape of Lucrece*, and prol. to *If you Know not Me*.

lived contented with such halting explanations might well let pass graver problems. To-day, let us hope, "all critics" can realise that for Q 1 the owners or printers had a manuscript deriving from the theatre, and at most lacked some portions of the actors' parts in the early version.

IV. THE OLD GERMAN VERSION

Our real problem is, first, to deduce from our data the history of the play before the first Quarto, and then to ascertain the history of the second. And for the purposes of the first step we have to make an investigation which by all the recent critics above discussed has been steadfastly evaded. In the case of ROMEO AND JULIET as in that of HAMLET there exists an old German version,¹ known only from a manuscript datable about 1626. The old German form of HAMLET, THE FRATRICIDE PUNISHED, which has of late begun to receive public as distinguished from private attention, is pretty certainly an early form of Kyd's HAMLET, translated into German for the purposes of the English travelling players at a stage before Shakespeare had handled it.² It thus throws a most important light on the history of the existing play. The question arises, then, whether the old German ROMEO AND JULIET, which we find played in Germany in 1626 with the old HAMLET and a number of other plays by pre-Shakespearean authors, may not prove similarly illuminating as to the history of the Shakespearean play with which it connects.

The problem is complicated. Cohn describes the German play as "Shakespeare's play, *almost scene for scene*: many passages indeed are literal translations."³ It would be difficult to be more misleading. The opening scene is absolutely without counterpart in our

¹ *Romio und Julietta*. See Cohn's *Shakespeare in Germany*, 1865, p. cxxiii.

² See *The Problem of Hamlet*, 1919, pp. 42-48.

³ Work cited, p. cxxiv.

play,¹ being a meeting of Capulet, Montague and the Prince, in which the feud of the families is discussed and the two fathers are urged by the Prince to a reconciliation, to which after some hesitation they assent. The second scene, too, has nothing corresponding to it in our play, being an elaborate dialogue between the Nurse and Juliet, who appears as troubled by maiden fancies and ready for love, but loving "she knows not what." Then comes a scene between Capulet and Paris, in which the clown (*Pickl Häring*) functions in traditional fashion. Only when he is entrusted with the delivery of invitations to the banquet do we come in direct touch with our play. In the next scene enter Romeo and Benvolio, the former dilating on the charms of Rosaline; and to them comes the clown, whose appeal to Romeo for assistance is substantially identical with our dialogue; though Romeo, who is at this stage anti-Capulet, does not in the end give friendly assistance.

So different has been the approach that the play might not unreasonably be regarded *prima facie* as having undergone, in the first three scenes, a complete reconstruction by a German adapter. But there are both general and particular reasons for inferring, on the contrary, that we have here a pre-Shakespearean form of our play; and the overlooking of these reasons by nearly all critics up to the present time is one more proof of the blinding power of an accepted tradition. The general reasons are, first, that in the cases of HAMLET and TITUS ANDRONICUS we have cumulatively convincing grounds for holding that the German version substantially follows the English originals, with at most subsidiary deviations; and, secondly, that the construction of these opening scenes tells of a fairly practised hand, such as is not known to have been at work in Germany at that period, save in the case of Jacob

¹ Johannes Meissner, in his research on *Die Englischen Comoedianten zur Zeit Shakespeares in Oesterreich* (Wien, 1884, p. 127) writes of this version that "das Stück beginnt wie das unsrige mit einer Staatsaction des Fürsten." Our play does not do this.

Ayrer, whose name has never been associated with this piece.

Throughout the remainder of the play, the deviations from our text are all in the direction of mere denudation and vulgarisation, the Clown being exploited to the literary disadvantage of the whole. Only in the two opening scenes have we any sign of literary motivation. This consists with their originality; whereas their substitution for an opening like that in our play would have been a positive renunciation of the more popular for the less popular form. The clowning tendency which is marked throughout the German adaptations of the period, as in this one, would have welcomed the opportunities of our opening scene had it been in the original text. The German opening scene is heavy and didactic, marked by academic *stichomuthia*, and reminiscent of FERREX AND PORREX; and it is thus finally inexplicable as a German substitution. When, then, Mr. H. de W. Fuller, in his paper on the Dutch ROMEO EN JULIETTE, without a word of argument dismisses the German play as "nothing more than a poor remodelling of Shakespeare,"¹ he must be adjudged to have merely missed the problem.

But the particular reason above alluded to is the most cogent. In the opening scene, though there is no prologue, we have a complete explanation of the first chorus in our play, presenting Montague and Capulet as "two household friends, alike in dignity"; whereas in our play they are never presented either as meeting in friendship or as playing any provocative part in the family feud, though they are hotly ready to join in the fray begun by their retainers. The irresistible inference is that this has been a secondary development; that a reconciliation scene *had* existed in the pre-Shakespearean form of the play; and that it was dropped on a revision but preserved in the German version. A sedulous effort of the Prince to effect a reconciliation, it will be remembered, is posited at the outset of Brooke's poem. The dramatisation of that episode would be an al-

¹ *Modern Philology*, July 1906 (Vol. IV), pp. 75-76.

together likely course for the original English author or authors.

What our Shakespearean scholars since 1865 have thought on the subject, it is difficult to say, since only two or three, so far as I have observed, have ever discussed it. Grant White, publishing his edition in 1865, had not Cohn's book before him; and Spalding makes no mention of it. Fleay, justly remarking that "the importance of the performance of English plays in Germany and its bearings on our own stage history has never been duly estimated," speaks¹ of the German ROMIO UND JULIETTA as "founded on Shakespeare's play of 1591." Professor Herford, though he has expressly admitted that there would seem to have been an earlier play of which a few passages have perhaps survived, will see no trace of such a play in the German version. With Fleay's judgment before him, he writes in his "Eversley" edition that

"The theory of an earlier form of the play *receives no support from the German version* acted by the English players, under the title 'Von Romeo undth Julitha' at Nördlingen, 1604, as 'Tragoedia von Romeo und Julia,' at Dresden, 1626, and elsewhere in Germany. The extant version is, *according to Creizenach*, 'obviously of the latter half of the seventeenth century, and local allusions indicate Austria. . . .'² It was clearly not taken from the First Quarto of 1597, but from the current text; cf. esp. iii, i.' *Die Schauspiele der englischen Comoedianten* (Einl. xli.)."

Upon the bare basis of this deliverance by Creizenach, supported by no argument and apparently by no independent examination, Professor Herford appends the disparaging note:—"Mr. Fleay, however, *knows* that the German play was founded on Shakespeare's play of 1591." Any authority served to flout Fleay. He was indeed over-orthodox in calling the primary play Shakespeare's; but he was incomparably better justified in pronouncing the German play to be founded on an early form of the English than are Professor Creizenach and Professor Herford in their respective declarations.

¹ *Life and Work of Shakespeare*, 1886, p. 308.

² Omission made by Professor Herford.

Dr. Herford's, set against the phenomenon of the German opening, entitles us to ask whether he had ever examined that version for himself. And how Creizenach can speak of it as derived "from the current text," without a word of reservation as to the opening scenes, is unintelligible. That it conforms to the current text at many points is obvious; but that is merely to say that it proceeded on theatre copy at the outset. It would almost seem as if the German and the English critic alike were determined not to see the plainest evidence of a prior form of the play conforming to the earlier form of the prologue.

Particularly puzzling is Creizenach's allusion to "III, i," as specially proving the dependence of the German version in the Folio next. That scene, with the continuing section ii, corresponds to I, iii, in our play; but it is placed *after* Juliet has met and loved Romeo; and, moreover, it particularly diverges from our play in making the Nurse describe Juliet as "turned fifteen," while Lady Capulet adds, questioningly, "not quite sixteen?" This, of course, may have been a German modification of the original: fourteen would have been reckoned in Germany, as by many in England, too early an age for marriage; but the sixteen figure conforms to the original story as given by Brooke, and on any view it is rather a challenge to than a proof of the assumption that the German play is a late version. If the German version be founded on Q 2 or the Folio, it represents an abandonment of effective situations, and the purposeless introduction of a new and serious opening scene, reconciling Capulet and Montague to no purpose. Intelligible as part of an original schema by Peele, or of the old play turned by him into blank verse, it is inexplicable as a German recast. If it be new matter, it is quite wrongly described as a "poor remodelling." It would be an elaborate innovation, as would be the second scene, if that too were new. Both are a world removed from the farcical "remodelling" which takes place later.

Creizenach's further assertion that the extant German

version is "obviously of the latter half of the seventeenth century," whether or not it be correct as to the actual time of writing of the existing MS., is nothing to the purpose. The allusions indicating Austria were specified as long ago as Cohn's issue. The essential thing is that the opening scenes are special to the German version; that they would, however, be inexplicable as a German alteration of the original; and that the first scene accounts as nothing else does for the wording of the first line of the prologue in Q 1. On all this, Creizenach has nothing to say, simply dogmatising in the traditionist manner common to the majority of the English and German critics of the past. And no other commentator or editor since Fleay has advanced the discussion. Dr. Timon and M. J. Wolff do not even mention the matter in their surveys of Shakespeare; there is no study of it in the Cambridge History of English Literature; and since Dr. Herford's edition, I can recall no English or German examination of the German play.¹ Stopford Brooke in his commentary says nothing of it; and Dowden and Dr. Chambers in their editions ignore it.

What is more surprising, W. J. Craig, one of our best modern editors, unsurpassed for breadth and accuracy of relevant knowledge, did not even mention the German version in the introduction to his "Little Quarto" edition, where he pronounced that "there appears to be no evidence of the least value to prove that this play was written very long before it was acted in 1596"; though he sensibly conceded that "Still it must be admitted that ROMEO AND JULIET has an early look," and specified various "early notes."²

Those who can see as much will perhaps now grant that a negative verdict which merely ignores the special evidence presented by the German version is by that oversight deprived of authoritative weight. In any case

¹ Professor Hubbard (Introd. p. 28) points out the important fact that the confusion in our play as to the time of the marriage arises from lack of consistency in the changes made upon the earlier version, which is clearly followed in the German version. That is thus independently proved to antedate Q 1.

² This is more fully done by Professor Hubbard (Introd. pp. 22-26) without advancing any theory of authorship.

I can but invite the student once more to face the problem for himself, putting the case as I see it.

As it stands, the German play is a composition quite carefully planned, at the outset, to stage the history of a family feud, with a didactic purpose. The dangers of civil strife are seriously dwelt upon, in the spirit of so much of the English drama and poetry of the period; and the sentiment and manner, as aforesaid, recall FERREX AND PORREX. Some such beginning would be as natural in the old play known to have existed in 1562 as in the poem of Brooke. But the second scene pretty clearly belongs to the Kyd-Marlowe period, being an equally elaborate introduction of Juliet as ready for the love of Romeo, the Nurse figuring somewhat as in our play, but, at this stage, with a distinct suggestion rather of the Nurse in DIDO than of the figure we know so well. A similar introduction of Romeo rounds the scheme so far. He is presented, as in the sources, sentimentally devoted to Rosaline; and the feud-motive is at the outset maintained to the extent of his tearing up the clown's list of invited guests when he finds that Rosaline is invited to the Capulet banquet. Still he decides to go, in order to meet her; and persuades his comrades, though, as in our play, he protests he is in no mood for dancing, having had "a heavy dream last night."

In the banquet scene (II, iii), there survive details which elucidate our play, and further indicate the feud-schema. Capulet tells how in his younger days it was common for outsiders to come to such a banquet "with some *masquara*"—or *mascara*;¹ and at *this* point Lady Capulet comments: "I well believe you were a great mouse-hound (*Mausshundt*, apparently a rendering of 'mouse-hunt') in your youth; but now you must leave it off"—a speech which in our play has been transferred to IV, IV, with the spelling "mouse-hunt." Romeo and his friends duly come by way of *masquara*.² As in our

¹ In the contemporary English drama we hear of "maskeries."

² Mr. Darrell Figgis (*Shakespeare: A Study*, 1911, p. 198) rightly points out (here following P. A. Daniel) that Romeo and his friends are *on the stage* while the servants enter and talk in what is improperly marked in modern editions as a new scene. In the Folio the deduction is clear.

play, Romeo falls in love with Juliet at once, though he is still concerned over the family feud; and when Tybalt flares up, Capulet insists, as in our play, on his keeping the peace, the Nurse chiming in, to Tybalt's exasperation. Then we have the feud-motive thus curiously handled:

Paris. I have often wished that the house of Capulet might be reconciled with that of Montague; and hear that even the Prince endeavours to lay this life-and-death feud.

Capulet. So it is, Count Paris; *but His Grace has not yet issued the proclamation. Therefore the feud stands to this hour.*

When, however, Romeo emerges in scene v, to approach Juliet's window—which he does with a page who sings a love-song to a lute—he soliloquises that

Since peace is concluded between my father and Capulet, love leads me to the heavenly beauty of Juliet, *to whom I have long devoted myself.*

It thus appears that the confusion of time which is so manifest in our play had already emerged in the intermediate one. In the old story, as told by Brooke and Painter, the action proceeds with no headlong speed: it is indeed tediously protracted: here it has begun to be heedlessly accelerated; for the balcony scene in the German play is substantially that of ours; and Juliet, fresh from the banquet-scene, asks in soliloquy: "O Romeo, wherefore art thou named Romeo."

Thus far, then, we have a play which had at the outset been formally motivated in its own way, in a fashion clearly anterior to that of the drama we find in the Quartos and the Folio. And if it be argued that the opening scene, and the detail as to the delay in the Prince's proclamation, are afterthoughts, the answer is clear. Whether or not there may have been a remodeling in the original English draft, it is obvious, for the reasons already given, that there cannot have been any on the part of the German translator. Nothing could be gained, from any point of view, by superimposing those details of a feud schema on a play beginning as

ours does. On the contrary, we can see that in the German piece the schematic method from this point onwards is abandoned because the action suffices without it. The action of Tybalt "takes charge," and that action is for stage purposes more effective than any other could be. It is the English adapters in the second stage who, seeing this, make a new beginning with the serio-comic fray, and reduce the "State" episode to the Prince's pronouncement after the fray is over.

Even in the first form, Capulet and Montague after the opening scene cease to figure as prime factors in the feud. Capulet's action in forcing Juliet to agree to marry Paris suffices to force on the tragedy. In our play the preliminary schema is reduced to making Montague and Capulet angrily eager to join in the fray, once it has begun; an attitude incompatible with the German scene of their pact with the Prince; and we may the more confidently decide that the German play preserves the earlier form. Instead of a formal German imposition of a "State motive" on a play not so introduced, there is visible even in the German play that pressure of stage needs and dramatic fitness which tends to overlay such didactics with action that better commands interest. After the first two Acts, the play has already moved from the form of a theoretically staged exhibition of the dangers of civil strife to that of a "practical" play of individual character and action, staged for its own sake. At the close, there is much less of civic didactics than in our play. Had the opening scene been a German innovation, a stressing of the lesson at the close would have been a matter of course. The movement has been the other way. Sheer stress of theatrical need has wrought a denudation of the original schema, which had been purely English. What the German version did add was mainly by way of clowning.

As in the Germanised version, however, so in the later English play, there has occurred a steady movement towards realism, towards effective action as against didactic exposition. Even the long explanatory narra-

tive at the close is a kind of faulty realism. The opening scene in our play is the work of an English realist, securing the kind of effect aimed at by "clown" machinery, but on a higher level, and in subordination to the general action. This change, as I read the procedure, was made after the original version had been put in the hands of actors who went to Germany—or, rather, of actors who travelled with the piece in the English provinces, and who afterwards either went to Germany or sold their play to actors who did.

If now we frame the hypothesis that the original piece was either wholly or partly Peele's, proceeding on the basis of an old play of which the verse portions were in old-fashioned rhyme, we have the starting-point of a working theory. The first and second scenes of the German version seem perfectly compatible with the Peele hypothesis. Peele certainly knew his FERREX AND PORREX; and Juliet's opening speech in the second scene is in the key and manner of his lyrical poetics. It is when we come to the second and third Acts that he becomes a dubious candidate. There, apart from the Capulet-Paris matter, alike the love and the hate, the quarrelling and the wooing, the passion of Juliet and the verve of Mercutio, seem even in the German to tell of a stronger hand than his. But this scene of preparatory sentiment introducing Juliet, like the scene officially introducing the Prince and the heads of the rival houses, seems to be entirely within Peele's compass.

A comparison of it with the similar matter in the opening speeches of DAVID AND BETHSABE will, I think, be admitted to suggest identity of source. To preclude all suspicion of literary cookery, I copy the somewhat stiff translation made for Cohn, which at points curtails the German; but the reader will remember that in such matters Peele employed such terms as 'delightsome,' 'gladsome,' 'ravishing,' and that he did *not* use the impersonal 'one' which emerges in the German and in the translation:—

Juliet. O how great is the enjoyment (*O grosse Belustigung*) of this springtime, when one may delight in the merry gardens,

fields, and woods ; when one hears the murmuring brooks *breaking their course betwixt the pebbles*, so pleasant to the ear ; when the *zephyr dallies with the leafy tree* ;¹ when the birds chant and with their plumage sweep through the air, and a thousand other charms gladden the heart ! But say, Juliet, what pleasure dost thou enjoy while I am pent up like a solitary turtle and forced to live like a prisoner, deprived of every enjoyment by parental control ? Oh Italia ! what law givest thou to womankind, leaving them nothing to enjoy but solitude. Say, Antoneta, shall I visit the flowers or go to sleep ?

Compare two speeches in Act I of DAVID AND BETHSABE :

Bethsabe. Come, gentle *Zephyr*, trick'd with those perfumes
That erst in Eden sweeten'd Adam's love,
And stroke my bosom with thy silken fan . . .
Keep every fountain fresh and arbour sweet ;
No brazen gate her [thy ?] passage can repulse,
Nor bushy thicket bar thy subtle breath :
Then deck thee with thy loose delightful robes,
And on thy wings bring delicate perfumes,
To play the wanton with us through the leaves.

David. What tunes, what words, what looks, what wonders pierce
My soul, incensèd with a sudden fire ?
What tree, what shade, what spring, what paradise
Enjoys the beauty of so fair a dame ? . . .
May that sweet plain that bears her pleasant weight
Be still enamell'd with discoloured flowers ;
That precious fount bear sand of purest gold ;
And, for the *pebble*, let the silver streams
That pierce earth's bowels to maintain the source,
Play upon rubies, sapphires, chrysolites . . .

Turn the German prose into Peele's verse, and the resemblance will perhaps be clearer :—

O how delightful is this lusty spring,
When all is joy in gardens, fields and woods ;
When murmuring brooks, breaking their gentle glide²
Betwixt the pebbles, ravish listening ears ;
When Zephyrus, fanning the rich-clad trees
Doth play the wanton with them through the leaves ;

¹ Orig. :—“*den blätterreichen Bäumen schmeichelt, und mit ihren schertzelt* ;”
“Flatters the rich-leaved tree and sports with it.”

² “Murmuring streams.” *Locrine*, II, i. “Along the bubbling brooks and silver glide.” *Arr. of Paris*, I, i.

When birds chant melody on every bough,¹
And with their silken plumage sweep the air ;
And thousand charms do gladden every heart.
But Juliet, say, what pleasure canst thou have,
Like to a solitary turtle pent,
And forced to live a weary prisoner,
Deprived by parents' rule of all delights.
O Italy, what tyrant laws thou giv'st
To us thy womenkind in single life,
Leaving them naught to 'joy but solitude !
Say, Antonette, shall I with flowers converse
Or give myself to slumber's soothing arms ?

It is impossible, of course, to claim that the resemblances of sentiment and diction as preserved in the translation prove Peele's authorship, though they go far to suggest it. Admitting the lack of proof, we may note the alternative possibility that the German version really preserves the old play mentioned by Brooke in 1562, which may have had a continuous stage life down to the later 'eighties, when it was pretty sure to be superseded, like so many others, by a blank-verse recast. The German prose may possibly represent the old "fourteeners," and its rhymed parts similar rhyming portions of the old piece. Various divergences from our text, not to be divined from the statements of Cohn and Creizenach, may be held to indicate a version even earlier than the portions of Peele's work apparently preserved in ours. In the scene (v, iii) of Juliet's supposed death we do not get either the laments we have ascribed to Peele or those we have ascribed to Kyd; Paris is not present; there is preliminary farcing between the Clown and the Nurse; the Clown, later, alternately farces and laments; and Capulet's brief lament is not a version of ours. There is no clear inference.

Two considerations, however, may be urged in favour of the hypothesis that, even in those portions, the German play is a version of one by Peele and others of his group. All the German versions of "Shakespearean" plays preserved in Cohn's collection appear to belong to the early years of the blank-verse period; and it is un-

¹ *Titus Andronicus*, II, ii, 12.

likely that, once *ROMEO AND JULIET* had been modernised, the archaic form would thereafter hold its ground in Germany; though an early form of the modernised play could very well remain in use, as in the cases of *TITUS* and *HAMLET*, after revised forms had superseded it in England. It is to be observed, further, that the clowning matter in the German version seems to tell of a special tendency to develop the play in that direction. It appears to be assumed that, wherever it be possible, farcical matter is to be preferred to tragical. Upon such a stage, then, the distinctly dismal laments preserved in the first Quarto may conceivably have been ejected in favour of a treatment in which lamentation is minimised and Pickle-Herring is allowed to lighten the situation for the populace in his manner.

As the evidence stands, then, it seems strictly reasonable to adhere to the hypothesis that the German play stands for one of the early blank-verse period, of which the three opening scenes, and some others, were drafted by Peele, on the basis of the archaic play mentioned by Brooke. On the strength at once of the German version, the first Quarto, and the plain evidence of similar collaboration between Peele and others in such plays as *TITUS ANDRONICUS* and *ALPHONSUS, EMPEROR OF GERMANY*,¹ I submit the further hypothesis that Peele had colleagues in drafting the new play, one being Marlowe and another Greene. That difficult thesis must now be put to the test of a scrutiny of the English texts.

V. THE EVOLUTION OF THE ENGLISH PLAY

Our previous survey of the drama of Shakespeare's earlier London years goes to prove not merely a habit of collaboration among the "academic" writers but a practice of chronic emendation and recasting of their plays. The *SPANISH TRAGEDY*, as edited from the

¹ See the *Introduction to the Study of the Shakespeare Canon*.

successive Quartos, exhibits this practice on its face. *TITUS ANDRONICUS*, as we have it in the Folio, is a recast of an older *TITUS AND VESPASIAN*. Our *HENRY V* and *JULIUS CÆSAR*, I have endeavoured to show, are recasts of older Marlowe plays, of which the former founds on the still older *FAMOUS VICTORIES* as the *CONTENTION* plays and *THE SHREW* proceed on the older *RICHARD III* and *A SHREW*. The pre-Shakespearean *ROMEO AND JULIET*, then, founded on the archaic play, would in ordinary course undergo further adaptation, the more readily because of its abundant possibilities.

That the Nurse-Juliet scene of the German version, above discussed, should be dropped by an English reviser, was as natural as that an actual scene of street-fighting should be substituted for the sententious didactics of the scene between the Prince and Montague and Capulet. And such changes might conceivably have been made by Peele himself, whose eye for realistic effects reveals itself in *EDWARD I*, and, if he be credited with the Jack Cade scenes in *HENRY VI*, still more there. But our actual data include the supervening of Kyd upon Peele in the altered laments of Q 2; and it is not to be supposed that Kyd was called in for that dubious service alone. Rejecting peremptorily the parody theory, and crediting, as we ought, the Kydian matter to Kyd, we can understand the substitution of his laments for Peele's as incidental to some wider revision of the play. The natural presumption, on this view, is that Peele was not in continuous control of the play; and that Kyd, whose developing gift for realism had been successfully established by *ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM* in or before 1591, was called in to cure what were felt to be the faults of a dragging opening.

But this intervention, if it took place, was progressive. The recast presented in Q 1 retains the Peele laments, after the two opening scenes of his play, preserved in the German version, had been eliminated as unnecessary and 'delayful.' In this secondary form of the piece, Shakespeare has already been largely at work, trimming much of the original verse, writing the Queen Mab

speech, and heightening the diction of others. Is he then to be supposed to have introduced the new opening scene?

It is natural to frame that hypothesis, and I cannot pretend to disprove it; but the comic diction goes far to repel it, and I am unready to adopt it. Shakespeare at this stage does not seem to me to have been a realist to anything like the extent to which Kyd was. The Queen Mab speech is a *coup de main* rather than a *coup de théâtre*. Peele himself might more fitly be credited with the brawl scene; though his whole practice tends to rhetorical openings rather than abrupt plunges into action. The reasons for ascribing the new scene to Kyd are, firstly, that he is emphatically the leading realist of the whole group, and, secondly, that his presence in the later form of Act iv can best be accounted for by some more important ground of entrance. That particular alteration cannot be explained save on the recognition that Shakespeare had not taken complete charge of the revision; and it is not difficult to understand that a practical dramatist of Kyd's prestige should be called upon for further revision work after he had given the piece a successful new opening scene.

Such tentative theorising will naturally be resisted as putting a number of unestablished hypotheses in place of the simple certitudes of the Canon. But there is really no other legitimate course for serious criticism. All previous commentary (barring Fleay's single note¹) has ignored the salient evidence given by the German play of a form prior to that of the first Quarto: a premiss which is (1) entirely in accord with the overwhelming probability that such a tempting theme as the story of Romeo and Juliet, staged as early as 1562, would not be left untouched by the whole group of Shakespeare's immediate predecessors; and (2) entirely countenanced further by the fact that on neither the first nor the second Quarto is there any author's name.² It is idle to

¹ And the introduction to Professor Hubbard's new edition of Q 1.

² It is noteworthy that on the undated Q 4 (1607?) of which a few copies bear Shakespeare's name, that name is dropped from subsequent copies.

go on pretending critical certitude where it cannot rationally exist; and where we are faced by irresistible negative certitudes, to wit, that certain portions of both Quartos *cannot* have been written by Shakespeare, and that not only the whole plot but two-thirds of the whole drama, including the main features of Capulet, Tybalt, Romeo, Benvolio, Mercutio, and the Nurse, are all set out in the German play. There is one notable difference. In our play, Romeo gets the news of Juliet's death at Mantua, and at once buys his poison there. In the German play there is no Mantua scene. Romeo learns the fatal news on his arrival, and stabs himself after killing Paris. This may or may not be a result of denudation of the German version.

That version, as we have seen, has plain marks of truncation. A further mark, now to be noted, is that the Friar's part is, so to speak, cut down to the bones. Not one of his long speeches is even indicated. There is not only no culling of simples: there is no hortatory expatiation: there is only the bare necessary minimum of his action on the plot. We cannot tell, then, how far he was developed in the earlier play. Being so important to the action, he must have spoken more than he does in the existing German version; and it is readily to be understood that in Germany a serious Friar's part would at that period be likely to be minimised. And as he is already fully developed in the first Quarto, in verse certainly revised if not largely drafted by Shakespeare, there arises for us the question, Who drafted the Friar's speeches, in rhyme and in blank-verse; and at what period of the play were they drafted? On no stylistic grounds can they be assigned even in draft to Peele. Had he then colleagues who handled that and other parts of the play, before the intervention of Kyd?

Before grappling with that difficult problem, however, we may take note of one more item that possibly (the case admits of no stronger term) points to Peele's original drafting. Juliet's "Gallop apace" speech

admittedly echoes a passage in Marlowe's *EDWARD II* (iv, iii, 45):—

Gallop apace, bright Phœbus, through the sky,
And dusky night, in rusty iron car,
Between you both shorten the time, I pray;

and so marked a parallelism, dismissed as a "reminiscence" in the familiar fashion, necessarily sets the alert explorer inquiring whether Marlowe can have had a hand in the original play. As we shall see, there are many more clues to him; and those who have learned to be cautious about *a priori* denials will perhaps confess at once that there is something of the spirit of Marlowe in the handling of Mercutio and in the presentment of the fight with Tybalt, which is pretty fully outlined in the German play, with a good deal of the exact language used in ours, and which is so much more compactly vigorous than almost anything else of the kind in the pre-Shakespearean drama. It at once calls up the figure of the Bastard in the old *RAIGNE OF KING JOHN*, and suggests the verve of the *Roses scene* in *I HENRY VI*.

The hypothesis must be closely checked; but before doing so we may note that while the "Gallop apace" speech rings unquestionably of Marlowe, not only in absolutely duplicated phrase but in feeling and manner, there is just a chance that it may be an imitation by another hand, seeing that Peele, who so often echoes Marlowe, has slightly echoed the first line in two places in his signed poetry:—

Gallops the zodiac in his fiery train
(*ANGLORUM FERLÆ*, 1595);

Gallop the zodiac and end the year
(*DESCENSUS ASTRÆÆ*, 1591);

besides duplicating the first line in *TITUS* (II, i, 7):

Gallops the zodiac in his glistening coach.

On the assumption, then, that Peele had a main hand in the primary blank-verse play, may he have drafted

Juliet's "Gallop apace" speech, carefully imitating Marlowe as he did in DAVID AND BETHSABE?¹

It certainly cannot be "proved" that he did. In the German play (iv, iv) there is no trace of the speech, though we have there Juliet's altercation with the Nurse, who abuses Romeo and advises her to marry Paris as in our play. But when we have only the opening lines of the speech in the first Quarto, yet with no reason to doubt that the rest has merely been dropped for provincial purposes, it is obvious that the whole soliloquy might have been dropped from the play in Germany, where such a speech from a maiden might have been reckoned impossibly bold, whatever licence might be allowed to Nurse and Clown and Mercutio. On the other hand, the bulk of the speech may have been added to the play by Peele after it had gone on its provincial travels. And at least one reason for surmising a draft by Peele—doubtless revised and extended by Shakespeare—lies in the lamentably over-discussed phrase, "runaways' eyes."

Twenty-eight closely-printed pages in Furness's variorum edition are occupied by condensed accounts of the various arguments for and against proposed emendations of the absurd reading in our text. For one group, *Cupid* is "runaway," because Jonson calls him "Venus's runaway" in a masque in which he *is* a runaway, and for other reasons; while some actually make Night the subject, because "Night plays the runaway" in the MERCHANT OF VENICE. Why *Cupid*, commonly figured in Tudor days as blindfolded, should close his eyes at night, or why *his* doing so should preclude all spying, he may guess who can. For another group Phœbus is "runaway" because he has been called the vagabond of the heavens; and so forth. On that view, Night is asked to spread her curtain "that the sun's eyes may close," as if *that* would make Romeo untalked-of and unseen. Dyce's "rude day's eyes" is another popular futility; "Luna's eyes" another; "enemies' eyes" another; and a band of stout realists insist upon just

¹ See *Introd. to the Shakespeare Canon*, p. 271.

"runaways" in the sense of "runagates," these being reckoned the only people likely to be out at night. And so has gone on, for nigh two centuries, the demonstration of the amount of critical thought commonly brought to bear on Shakespeare's text.

In 1765, Heath pointed in the right direction by suggesting "Rumour's eyes," *Rumor* being *Fama*, covered with eyes and tongues. Dyce (busy with "rude day's eyes" and other solutions, such as "roving eyes") objected that while people and poets commonly talked of Rumour's tongues, as in the prologue of 2 HENRY IV, they never talked of her eyes, though in mythology she possessed them. Others objected that a written "Rumour's" (or even "Rumoure's") would not adequately account for the misreading "runawayes,"¹ as if printers' errors were always made with a vigilant conformity to apparent script. In the general obsession, almost no attention has been paid to Monck Mason's important suggestion of "renomy," a neglect imperfectly excusable by the fact that, as Mason goes on to show, the suggestion ought² to have been *renommy* or *renommée*. In French, *une Renommée* is a statue or figure of *Fàme*; and the figure of Fame is the one adequate and inevitable solution for "eyes" and "untalk'd of and unseen."³ Now, in Elizabethan English we constantly have the variant spellings *renown*, *renowne*, *renowm*, and *renowme*; and the writer of the injured line may have used either of the two latter forms, meaning so to name *Rumor* or *Fama*. The balance of probability is perhaps towards *renowmè's* or *rennòwne's*, though

¹ Some have even argued that the line *requires* a trisyllable; and one pundit, cited by Furness, demanded *four* syllables, propounding "sunaweary eyes" as the unquestionable solution. The mythologic fancy in the line is poor enough, but it has had harder treatment than it deserved.

² No instance of "renomy" is given in the N.E.D.

³ A really scholarly suggestion has been made by Professor Kellner of Vienna, in his valuable *Shakespeare Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1922: a remarkable post-war contribution to Shakespeare scholarship from Central Europe). He points out that Brooke (l. 887) has: "Lest *envious* foes by force despoil our new delight" and proposes to read "envious eyes" for "runaways' eyes." But not only will this fail to content the devotees of the *ductus literarum*: it fails to meet the connotative formula "untalk'd of and unseen," which so distinctly specifies *Fama*. From that there is really no escape.

"Renommée's" is possible enough. For not only has Chaucer the lines:

That hit was Jasoun, full of renomee
(LEGEND OF GOOD WOMEN, 1513);

For gentilessë nis but renomee
(WIFE OF BATH'S TALE, 1159);

and Gower the line:

Which tho [then] was of great renomee
(CONFESSION AMANTIS, lib. iv (ed. Pauli, ii, 43);

but in the Rolls of Parliament for 1464 we have:

The fame or¹ *renommy* of the honour and policy thereof;

and in Caxton's SONNES OF AYMON (c. 1489):

The renommee thereof is flowen all over the world.

Thus, though "renowme" appears to have been normally stressed on the second syllable like "renown" (e.g. "renowmed" in Spenser, F.Q., II, iv, 41), the old Chaucerian form—which was used *alongside of* "renoun"—had a vogue for lovers of the archaic, of whom Peele was one. And this is a (doubtful) reason for surmising him as draftsman of Juliet's soliloquy. If there was one Elizabethan draftsman of 1590 more likely than others to introduce an archaism from Chaucer or Caxton it was he—he and not Marlowe, and certainly not Shakespeare. And "renommée" (or "renommy") would serve him as a fusion of Fame and Renown as presented by him in his HONOUR OF THE GARTER (1593). There (ll. 52-53):

The same Renown, precursor of the train,
Did sound—for who rings louder than Renown?

and (ll. 174-5)

Fame in a stole of purple, *set with eyes*
And ears and tongues, carried a golden book

¹ Of in N.E.D. There seems to have been a mistranscription or misprint.

—the register of individual fames (l. 194):

Renown, before
That sounded shrill, was officer-at-arms
And usher to the train; his office badge
Was a black rod, whereof he took his name.

Honour and Time, also personified, swell the motley mythology. It might be that previously or after either a reflection or a remonstrance on that multiplication, he correctly combined Fame and Renown in *Renommée*; though it is quite possible that he, or another, really wrote *Rumoure's*, deciphered as *runnawaies*, and respelt by the printers.

On the main issue, as to the *origination* of the speech, there is sure to be resistance to either the Peele or the Marlowe hypothesis. Shakespeare's touch has so transfigured the Juliet of the German play, even while following all the other steps of the outline, enskying her for all lovers as a thing all air and fire, nobility and self-forgetting courage, that her lyrical rapture has become a thing to be definitely proclaimed as a psychic masterpiece. Dr. Chambers, for instance, will confidently found on it for his conviction that in Shakespeare's eyes the "principle of sex" is for women the whole of love, operating at a pinch to the total extrusion of the principle of modesty. Here, indeed, no one will venture to speak of "degradation."¹ English people have so often been accused by other nationalities of prudery that they are grown afraid of ever seeming prudish, and overact the contrary attitude.

Nevertheless, I submit that Juliet's rapturous soliloquy is more likely to have been drafted by Peele—or by Marlowe, who has *prima facie* the strongest claim—than by Shakespeare. It has, for one thing, Peelean

¹ That is, in present-day England. But the thing had been done by Teutonic critics of the last generation. "Modern critics in Germany and Sweden are agreed in regarding it as a purely sensual passion, by no means admirable—nay, essentially reprehensible. They insist that there is a total absence of maiden modesty in Juliet's manner of feeling, thinking, speaking, and acting. She does not really know Romeo; they say: is there anything more, then, in this unashful love than the attraction of mere bodily beauty?" G. Brandes (who passes effective counter-comment) in *Introd.* to his ed. of *Romeo and Juliet*: Heinemann, 1904.

touches, such as "love-performing Night," where the crude Peele-ish compound is a term occurring only in this play in the Concordance. At the risk of being indicted for idolatry, I would suggest that even before 1595 Shakespeare, had he been set to *draft* a speech for a noble maiden athrill with the coming of her bridal night, would have framed something more subtly psychic than this, something "all a wonder and a wild desire," rather than the quite masculine, and indeed Peelean, ascription to the girl of the kind of poem that an amorous male poet of the time, or of the Caroline period, would indite by way of descriptive lyric or Epithalamion. It is often said (it is said by Dr. Chambers, among others) that Helena and Hermia in the *DREAM* are hardly differentiated. But even those two slightly studied voices are true trebles, real girl-voices; whereas in this soliloquy Juliet's is not a girl-voice at all,¹ though in other scenes it is. Juliet, aged fourteen (too early married, assuredly), is made to generalise knowingly and rhetorically on what married lovers do, to categorise herself and Romeo, to see and speak of her case as average men see and speak of it. That is precisely the way in which Peele (as often Marlowe) psychologises; and it is by similarly non-dramatic psychology that I have been moved in other instances to ascribe to one of them undramatic abstractions of feeling in the Shakespeare plays.² And indeed Romeo's

How silver sweet sound lovers' tongues by night

has just that psychological falsity of touch.

The orthodox answer may readily be forecasted. Shakespeare, we shall be told, was as likely as Peele at that period to echo and develop a "mighty line" of Marlowe; and the author of *VENUS AND ADONIS* was just as likely as Peele or any other poet to make a young girl on her bridal eve ecstatically particularise and generalise on lovers' joys—effusively expatiating

¹ "Juliet in life would not have said it aloud," confesses Stopford Brooke of the soliloquy. *On Ten Plays of Shakespeare*, p. 69.

² *E.g.* Henry's speech at Agincourt; and Cassius' forecast of the applause of posterity for the slaying of Caesar.

instead of tremulously communing with herself. Further, if he admittedly revised and probably expanded the epithalamion, why should he be supposed unlikely to have drafted it?

It must here suffice, on such an elastic issue, to reply briefly:—

1. That for Shakespeare, at that and even at later times, all matter that adequately served the stage's purposes *had* to be left standing;¹ and that Juliet's speech was good stage rhetoric, though he could make it better on its own plane.

2. The VENUS AND ADONIS, written as a pot-boiler to meet the market, is no clue to Shakespeare's dramatic psychosis. It is a wholly external treatment of a popular theme, and it implicated none of his dramatic insight. Shakespeare's real women, the women of his dramatic imagination, even in youth, as certainly in his riper years, were much more nearly Lucreces than Venuses. The girls in the DREAM, Beatrice, Lady Percy, Portia, Jessica, are no more erotic than Perdita or Imogen or Miranda. He had not a Peelean mind.

3. Finally, Juliet's epithalamion is a gratuitous development of her personality as we have it previously in the play. She is an ideal lover without it. It assuredly cannot heighten her for us: she is glorified not by this but by what precedes and what follows. Dr. Brandes, in his edition, pronounces that "it is not as a drama that ROMEO AND JULIET has won all hearts. . . . It is from the lyrical portions of the tragedy that the magic of romance proceeds, which sheds its glamour and glory over the whole. The finest lyrical passages are these: Romeo's declaration of love at the ball, Juliet's soliloquy before their bridal night, and their parting at the dawn." I regret to have to dissent as to the praise passed on the soliloquy; and am further fain to submit that the total criticism makes too little account of the compelling force of the old story, which was so widely welcomed before our play was written. Juliet's soliloquy

¹ The same issue arises over *Hamlet*, and is discussed in some detail in *Hamlet Once More*, p. 71 sq.

has in itself no such felicity as would have raised to poetic greatness another scene in another play. And as the structure of the verse and the nature of the ideation are fundamentally Peelean, if they be not Marlovian, and the whole is only in parts lifted above Peele's rhetorico-poetic plane (as it is at the start by the appropriation from Marlowe), the theory of a draft by him is on the most strictly technical as well as on other grounds entitled to consideration as against the obvious alternative view, that the speech was really penned by Marlowe.

In any case, the technical and stylistic tests very clearly mark off certain portions of both Quartos as plainly the work of other hands than Shakespeare's. Few critics to-day, probably, will resort to Spalding's tactic of explaining away, as results of bad "reporting," the scene which in Q 1 takes the place of that in Q 2 where (II, vi) Romeo and Juliet meet at the Friar's cell :—

Rom. Now, Father Lawrence, in thy holy grant
Consists the good of me and Juliet.

Fr. Without more words I will do all I may
To make you happy if it in me lie.

Rom. This morning hath she 'pointed we should meet,
And consummate these never-parting bands,
Witness of our hearts' love by joining hands,
And come she will.

Fr. I guess she will indeed ;
Youth's love is quick, swifter than swiftest speed.

This, so far, is not a mere ill-reported version of the scene as it goes in Q 2 : it is a different, a poorer, and an earlier version, and it might be Peele's, though I rather surmise Kyd. And, as it happens, there are clear traces of it in the German play, where (III, viii) the Friar reluctantly agrees to consider the marriage provided Juliet desires it ("we will see how to manage it"); and on his challenge Romeo says: "She intends to come here at nine o'clock." In a later non-numbered scene, separated from this by one (also non-numbered) involving Paris, Capulet, and Juliet, the lovers meet, and are married by the Friar. There is no speech

about "so light a foot"; but the occurrence of those non-numbered scenes suggests that the play had here undergone readjustment.

In any case, the work in Q 2 is unquestionably a rewriting of that in Q 1. It is noteworthy that in the first Quarto the Friar says:

See where she comes !
So light of foot ne'er hurts the trodden flower ;
Of love and joy see, see the sovereign power :

which some will probably be disposed to deny to Peele, though the last line is so weak. But why should Shakespeare have substituted the standing version :—

Here comes the lady : oh, so light a foot
Will ne'er wear out the everlasting flint !
A lover may bestride the gossamer(s)
That idles¹ in the wanton summer air,
And yet not fall, so light is vanity——?

This is not an unqualified improvement : some prefer the flower to the flint ; and the added lines are not of the best. The problem complicates when we note in the SPANISH TRAGEDY (III, vii, 73) the line :—

Wearing the flints with these my withered feet.

Once more we seem to find Kyd modifying Peele ; for Peele could perfectly well have written the first Quarto lines, and Kyd those of the second. Neither version as a whole is recognisably Shakespearean ; and if Juliet's speech beginning :

Conceit, more rich in matter than in words,
Braggs of his substance, not of ornament,

is of a rather stronger literary quality than the rest, it is still undramatically sententious, an outsider's comment rather than a poet's inspiration for Juliet. At best, we are reading a revision of a non-Shakespearean draft.

As between the two Quartos, there can hardly be any confident question that the scene of the meeting in the cell is not Shakespeare's in the first version.

¹ A verb which occurs only in this play in the Folio.

Professor Herford unreservedly admits that the divergence is "indeed startling"; "the two dialogues do not differ merely in expressiveness and effect: they embody different conceptions of the lovers' character. In the first they fling to and fro light lyric phrases of love-longing: in the second they thrill with a passion too deep for utterance." This is rather high praise for Romeo's rhetoric:—

Ah, Juliet, if the measure of thy joy
Be heap'd like mine, and that thy *skill* be more
To *blazon* it, then sweeten with thy breath
This neighbour *air*, and let *rich music's tongue*
Unfold the imagined happiness that both
Receive in either by this dear encounter.

Here, surely, we are still in the poetry of convention. In Marlowe's part of HERO AND LEANDER (I, 193 we) have:

Love's holy fire, with words, with sighs and tears,
Which, like *sweet music*, entered Hero's ears;

and

The *air* with sparks of living fire was spangled.

But if such rhetoric is to pass as "early Shakespeare," at least the contrasted work in Q 1 cannot do so. Romeo's

My Juliet, welcome. As do waking eyes,
Clothed in Night's mists, attend the frolic Day,
So Romeo hath expected Juliet,
And thou art come,

is emphatically pre-Shakespearean, though Juliet's reply:

I am, if I be Day,
Come to my Sun: shine forth and make me fair,

reminds us that the old hands could turn out on occasion a pretty line. The irreducible æsthetic fact is that the first Quarto not only retains plain traces of an early version, but at those points is as congruous in sentiment with the German play as it is often exactly

consonant with it in dialogue. Such lines as the Friar's:

Come, wantons, come, the stealing hours do pass.
Defer embracements till some fitter time.
Part for a while: you shall not be alone
Till holy Church hath joined ye both in one,

are exactly on the psychic plane of the German version, and quite conceivably from the hand of Peele. Other modifications of Q 1 in Q 2 equally fail to suggest Shakespearean revision. In the scene in which the Nurse tells Juliet of Tybalt's death the dialogue has apparently been rearranged; for in Q 1, after the Nurse's speech beginning "I saw the wound," Juliet cries:

Ah, Romeo, Romeo, what disaster hap
Hath sever'd thee from thy true Juliet?
Ah, why should heaven so much conspire with woe,
Or Fate envy our happy marriage,
So soon to sunder us by timeless death?

This is almost flat enough to give colour to a theory of improvisation for a "piratical" version. It suggests Marlowe as little as Shakespeare, though it could very well be Peele's. But the speech substituted in Q 2 is hardly better:—

O break, my heart, poor bankrupt, break at once,
To prison, eyes; ne'er look on liberty.
Vile earth, to earth resign, end motion here,
And thou and Romeo press one heavy bier!

Whosoever penned the first speech—a point hard to settle—I incline to see in the second a hasty rewriting by Marlowe, whose rhetoric appears to obtrude itself in the speech beginning:—

O serpent heart, hid with a flowering face,
which in Q 1 is curtailed, but contains a line:
O painted sepulchre, including filth,

which is not retained in Q 2. The obvious errors in the latter version (and the assignment of the first line to

the Nurse) tell of an addition to the text, which has not undergone revision for the press. The sudden rise in the rate of double-endings points to the same inference.

And as the play goes on we find in both the first and the second Quarto more matter that does not ring of Shakespeare, either in diction or sentiment, though we have a general impression of revision by him, even in the first. The only licit inference appears to be that he worked either with or after others on a version of the play later than that imperfectly preserved in the German version; and that after this secondary stage the play underwent yet further adaptation by other hands, he revising then or still later. The grounds for this complicated conclusion are to be reached by a further detailed analysis. There is much matter in the first Quarto that is not at all assignable to Peele. Is that matter, then, of Shakespeare's drafting; or is it but Shakespeare's revision, slight or serious, of the work of others?

VI. MARLOWE MATTER

Apart from the matter which marks itself off, first, as poetically too inferior, and secondly as definitely recalling Peele and Kyd, that which seems most clearly to point to another hand than Shakespeare's bears the apparent stamp of Marlowe. As to this, *prima facie*, there can hardly be any dispute; for the Marlowesque character of certain passages is acknowledged by all the editors who are concerned to notice such phenomena. As "undoubtedly reminiscences of Marlowe's plays," Dowden cites, in addition to the notable "Gallop apace" parallel, these:—

But soft! what light through yonder windows breaks?
It is the east, and Juliet is the sun!

R. AND J., II, ii, 2.

But stay, what star shines yonder in the east?
The loadstar of my life, my Abigail.

JEW OF MALTA, II, i.

Death lies on her like an untimely frost
Upon the sweetest flower of all the field.

R. AND J., IV, v, 28-29.

A fair young maid, scarce fourteen years of age,
The sweetest flower in Cytherea's field,
Cropt from the pleasures of the fruitful earth.

JEW OF MALTA, I, end.

But there are many others, including a number in HERO AND LEANDER which have never been noted. The lines of Capulet (IV, v, 35-37):—

O son, the night before thy wedding day
Hath death lain with thy wife ; see, there she lies,
Flower as she was, deflowered by him ;

and these (v, iii, 102):—

Shall I believe
That unsubstantial death is amorous,
And that the lean abhorred monster keeps
Thee here in dark to be his paramour?

are variants of a common trope repeatedly employed by Marlowe:—¹

For amorous Jove hath snatched my love from hence
Meaning to make her stately queen of heaven.
What God soever holds thee in his arms. . . .

2 TAMB., II, iv.

Supposing amorous Jove had sent his son
The winged Hermes, to convey thee hence. . . .
Id. IV, iii.

Infernal Dis is courting of my love. . . .
Opening the doors of his rich treasury
To entertain this queen of chastity.

Id. ib. end.

¹ Dowden cites the passage in Daniel's *Complaint of Rosamond*:—

Death dallying seeks
To entertain itself in Love's sweet place,

but says nothing of the Marlowe parallels. There is another in Sidney :

Nay, even cold death inflamed with hot desire
. . . . hopes with foul embracements her to get.

Arcadia, lib. II, ed. 1627, p. 146.

It was a standing *cliché*.

One line in particular¹ is plainly echoed in HERO AND LEANDER :

I dreamt my lady came and found me dead. . . .
And breathed such life with kisses in my lips. . . .

R. AND J., v, i, 7, 9.

He kiss'd her, and breath'd life into her lips.

H. AND L., II, 3.

This echo alone might serve to indicate that ROMEO AND JULIET was written before 1593, when Marlowe perished in his flower, leaving his poem unfinished. For surely the line in the play is the first form, growing naturally out of the context, whereas in the poem Hero has but fainted, in no serious fashion. If it be answered that he was echoing Shakespeare, then the play is definitely dated before Marlowe's death; and we get the theoretic situation that Marlowe is echoing Shakespeare, while Shakespeare is undeniably minting, wholesale, parallels from Marlowe—the same kind of Ptolemaic puzzle as that which arises when we ascribe TITUS to Shakespeare, making him alternately echo and be echoed by Peele. In this case as in that, the puzzle disappears as soon as we recognise that the echoes in the play are echoes of himself by the writer of the parts under notice.

For the Marlowe echoes in the play are cumulatively convincing. "The airy region" (II, ii, 21) is a Marlowism (2 TAMB., IV, i; cp. INTROD. TO CANON, p. 381). Juliet's lines (II, ii, 58-59):

My ears have not yet drunk a hundred words
Of that tongue's utterance

were recognised by the Variorum men as echoing or echoed by:

His ear to drink her sweet tongue's utterance

in EDWARD III (II, i, 2), which we may confidently assign, in this scene, to Marlowe, revised by Greene. And even the line (II, ii, 83):—

That far shore, washed with the furthest sea,

¹ This was noted by Steevens. Dowden observes that the poem was not printed till 1598, but draws no inference.

remotely chimes to:

Vast Grantland, compassed with the frozen sea.

(2 TAMB., I, i).

"Dry sorrow drinks our blood" (III, v, 59) is indeed a common Tudor saying; but here it points to Marlowe's "dry with grief" in *Dido* (II, i, 5); for "blood-drinking" is an item in the Marlowe vocabulary; and the psychology here is Marlovian, not Shakespearean; as is the case in Juliet's line (III, ii, 47):

Than the death-darting eye of cockatrice,

which sends us straight to RICHARD III (IV, i, 55) and the pre-Shakespeareans.

It is not so clear to whom we are to assign the mannered rant of Benvolio's speech (III, i, 157) beginning:

Tybalt, here slain, whom Romeo's hand did slay,

which so closely compares with Benvolio's previous description (I, i, 113) both in diction and in versification. It is not in the normal manner of Marlowe, though it might be reckoned Marlowesque; and, like the rest of the scene, it creates an impression of a very early rewriting by Shakespeare of the work of someone else—a rewriting marked by special faults as well as by a new facility of verse movement.¹

But it is otherwise not only with the matter which has been above paralleled from *HERO AND LEANDER*—though that too has undergone revision—and with the Marlovian matter in the later scenes.²

¹ The same manner, however, when found in the sergeant scene in *MACBETH*, suggests yet another hand. Can it be Kyd's?

² It may be well to guard the student against a rather scandalous mystification, set up over a century ago by Douce, and carried on by editors ever since. In his *Illustrations of Shakespeare* (1807, ii, 184: ed. 1839, p. 428), citing Juliet's reference (II, ii, 92) to Jove and lovers' perjuries, Douce writes: "This Shakespeare found in Ovid's *Art of Love*, perhaps in Marlowe's translation, Book I:

"For Jove himself sits in the azure skies,
And laughs below at lovers' perjuries."

This assertion and this quotation have been accepted and repeated without question by Singer, Hudson, Furness, Dowden, Craig, Sir Sidney Lee, Mr. Frank Marshall, and Professor Herford, in their respective editions, not one of them hinting any

On the most unquestionable parallels, Dowden was of course ready with the traditionist answer: "Shakespeare was much influenced by Marlowe in some early plays; *but* ROMEO AND JULIET is not written in discipleship to Marlowe, and it must be remembered that in plays as late as AS YOU LIKE IT and TROILUS AND CRESSIDA reminiscences of Marlowe are found." All of which propositions fail to meet the questions raised by the phenomena. Dowden might have added that there are many "reminiscences" of Marlowe in the ERRORS, in HENRY V, and in JULIUS CÆSAR—a fact which leads to inferences that never dawned on him. As in those cases, so in this, we are forced to raise questions of authorship.

1. How comes it that the DREAM, dated by Dowden as by others in the near neighbourhood of ROMEO, and in JOHN, dated almost immediately afterwards, there are no such reduplications of Marlowe phrases; though JOHN, like the first lines of the LABOUR, shows the influence of the Marlowe rhetoric? These echoes in ROMEO are comparable only to the echoes in the ERRORS, in HENRY V, and in JULIUS CÆSAR. The "reminiscence" in AS YOU LIKE IT is an express quotation: that in TROILUS is an open adaptation of a Marlowe trope in non-Marlovian diction and rhythm: the parallels in ROMEO are exactly such variants of Marlowe's tropes as he himself was always putting forth, and the passages in which they occur are absolutely in his verse-manner.

dubiety. Yet there is no such couplet in all the works of Marlowe, who, as all those editors must at some time have known, translated not the *Art of Love*, where alone in Ovid the passage occurs (I, 633), but the *Amores*, where it does not occur. There was no published translation of the *Ars Amandi* in Shakespeare's time. The cited couplet really occurs in a translation of the *Ars Amandi*, of which the only copy in the British Museum is dated 1662 ('Ovid de Arte Amandi,' etc., p. 24). The fact that the little volume (a cheaply printed thing) contains a "mock Poem" on Hero and Leander may have set Douce theorising that the translation of the *Ars Amandi*, which suggests Marlowe's influence, was really his work. But that issue, I think, has never been raised by him or anyone else; and though it is conceivable that a Marlowe MS. translation may have remained unprinted until long after his death, that hypothesis is evidently not the basis of the acceptance of Douce's note by so many editors. Of course the Ovidian phrase on lovers' perjuries was so familiar that no argument could be founded on it in any case. Greene (cited by Malone) quotes it in GREENE'S METAMORPHOSIS (with "perjurie," in the singular), and Lilly in ENDIMION (I, ii), with "lovers' deceptions."

2. Again: ROMEO is as regards substance and character-handling a much more "experienced" piece of work than the DREAM; yet its versification is in comparison mainly pre-Shakespearean. Even Professor Saintsbury recognises that "there is much of Marlowe's single-moulded line."¹ By common consent (though Dr. Brandes follows Fleay in assigning the first form to 1591) it is to be dated, *for Shakespeare*, either just before or just after the DREAM. If before, how comes the DREAM to be in comparison so "impractical," so lacking (apart from comic matter) in the kind of concrete reality in which, despite lapses from the higher realities of feeling, ROMEO abounds? If after, how comes the *versification* of ROMEO to revert so constantly and so markedly to the rhythmical type which in the DREAM and in the opening scene of the COMEDY OF ERRORS is already so signally transcended? These questions, of course, have never occurred to the traditionary scholars; but scientific criticism must face them. Though the proportions of textually (as distinct from rhythmically) run-on lines in the two plays are nearly the same (Marlowe had many such lines latterly), and the percentage of speech-endings or short lines in the DREAM (17.3) is not greatly higher than in ROMEO (14.9), yet we seldom find in the latter play such rhythmic variation from the iambic norm as reveals itself from the outset of the DREAM; and when it does come it is hardly ever in the lyric passages where we should expect it.

And these contrasts, which remain insoluble perplexities while we treat both plays as drafted by Shakespeare about the same time, at once become soluble if we regard ROMEO as a composite play, drafted before Shakespeare by several hands, merely revised and expanded by him in the version preserved in Q 1, and further modified by his *and other* hands in the version preserved in Q 2. It is certainly not a matter of mere "discipleship to Marlowe." If we so explain the Marlowesque parts, we must posit discipleship of

¹ *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Literature*, v, 182. But of course the single-moulded line is equally characteristic of the other pre-Shakespeareans.

Greene, Kyd and Peele in others—the old resort to the Imitation Theory. And the very raising of that theory forces, as usual, its confutation. If we set out by assuming that Shakespeare imitated Marlowe in the passages above cited, we must next avow that (as will be shown in the next section) he imitated Greene in rhymed passages; and this after or at the same time that he had poorly imitated Peele, and was to proceed to imitate Kyd as poorly. Is it conceivable that the author of the *DREAM* should thus, like a man possessed, ape alike and at once the worst and the best models before him? Is there any sane escape from the critical conclusion that he was merely adapting a composite play?

The main difficulty about coming to that conclusion, as aforesaid, lies in the fact that in this play Shakespeare obviously does far more, alike of revision and of fresh writing, than he did in *TITUS*. It was eminently natural that he should. The themes differ, broadly speaking, "as far as heaven from hell." On the moral marle of *TITUS* there is no place for the true poet's foot: in *ROMEO AND JULIET* he had almost his first real poetic stimulus from his predecessors. After the opening scene, every character might be said to beckon to him. One might even wonder that he did not do more—that he did not substitute finer things of his own for Marlowe's echoed apostrophe of Romeo to Juliet, for the old tropes about amorous Death, for the tenor epithalamion of Juliet, as he has visibly touched the "dawn song" of the lovers before their parting. But the answer is clear. The Marlovian rhetoric, like the Greenean rhetoric, was quite good matter for the actors of his company; and they probably would not at that stage have thanked him for a Juliet soliloquy of a finer substance.

And if it be still argued that Marlowe in his acknowledged plays does not handle the love motive with any such glow of feeling as we find in our play, we must repeat that for all the collaborators, and certainly not least for him, this rich story was sure to be a new inspiration. The poet of *HERO AND LEANDER* was bound

to respond to a call no less clear than that. His hand is to be felt not merely in the passages in which he actually repeats himself. Never is he for long a mere echo of himself, often as he did repeat his rhetoric. In Mercutio as in Romeo he had a type at least as acceptable to his evolving art as the Superman of which he must have grown somewhat tired; in Juliet he had a girl-lover already delineated in the story more movingly than is Abigail in the JEW. And who but Marlowe, with his Abigail of fourteen, or a writer moved by the Abigail portrait to imitate it, would have reduced the age of Juliet to that from the sixteen of the actual tale, which is the age given in the German version, seen to be early? On Shakespeare's part, the change would have been a strangely false stroke. Dowden's pronouncement that he "heightens the miracle of love," by making Juliet only fourteen, is a paralogism. Would the miracle, then, have been still more "heightened" by making her thirteen, or twelve? Would any reader have felt any deficiency of "miracle" if in the play she had been described as aged seventeen or eighteen?

If we are to reason as does Dowden, Marlowe has imparted some touch of the miraculous to Abigail by making *her* only fourteen! The comment of common-sense, surely, is that Marlowe had noted the earlier physical development of the eastern races, and, after having posited the observation concerning a Jewess, saw fit to posit it anew concerning an Italian maiden. It can hardly be he, indeed, who makes the Nurse expound Juliet's age; but the very mode of the exposition tells that the age has been in dispute; and the Nurse's speech strongly suggests an acceptance and imposition of Marlowe's view by someone who follows Marlowe's lead. And it is equally in Marlowe's way to disregard time in an action, and to join in forcing the pace in the headlong fashion of our play, where father and mother storm at Juliet as being "evermore" weeping for her cousin when Tybalt was killed only yesterday.

Yet further, though this has been least of all recognised, it was even in his way to insert the bad puns in

serious matter—the excruciating quibbles of Juliet over *I* and *aye* and *eye*, and the agonising line:

Flies may do this ; but I from this must fly,
as well as :

No sudden mean of death, though ne'er so mean ;
and :

What says
My concealed lady to our cancelled love?
and Paris's :

These times of woe afford no time to woo.

These unhappy touches are explained as capitulations by the young Shakespeare to a reigning mode, and are paralleled by the “gild—guilt” pun in *MACBETH* (II, ii, 56). It is here submitted that in neither case are they to be confidently ascribed to him ; and that the puns in *ROMEO* in particular point to Marlowe.

Punning is with Marlowe, apparently, the resort of the almost humorless poet to a humorless form of wit. We find it in a plainly Marlovian part of *I HENRY VI* (II, v, 44) :—

And in that ease I'll tell thee my disease,

a pun in the mechanical manner of Kyd, as “proditor and not protector” (I, iii, 31) reverts to the methods of the populace, in which alliteration did service as punning. In *RICHARD DUKE OF YORK* (l. 13 from end) we have a typical instance :—

To say the truth, so Judas kissed his master,
And so he cried all hail, and meant all harm.

It is a complete self-betrayal by the masterful poet ; a perfectly witless obtrusion of what is meant for wit. We have the fatality again in *DIDO* (ll. 1515-16) :—

Fare well may Dido, so Æneas stay :
I die, if my Æneas say farewell ;

in the translation of Ovid's *Elegies* (II, ii, 45) :

While Juno's watchman Io too much eyed ;

and in HERO AND LEANDER in the lines (II, 275-6) :—

Much like a globe (a globe may I term this,
By which love sails to regions full of bliss?)—

which, with the others, might confidently be held to betray the unhappy punster of our tragedy, if we did not recall that Kyd too was evilly given that way in his early days. It would be hazardous, again, to argue from these items to Marlowe's authorship of the part of the play in which Romeo says (I, iv, 14-15) :—

You have dancing shoes,
With nimble soles : I have a soul of lead.

But it is to Marlowe rather than to any of his colleagues that we are led by both style and diction to assign the handling of the main action at that stage. The general run of the dialogue of Romeo, Benvolio and Mercutio seems assignable to him rather than to any other, on the score of the vigorous phrasing as well as the verse movement. The playing on the word "banished" points to EDWARD II (I, iv) :—

Thou from the land, I from myself am banished.

Here, indeed, we are at once recalled to the Two GENTLEMEN (III, i, 171) :—

To die is to be banished from myself;
And Sylvia is myself: banished from her
Is self from self: a deadly banishment.

On the traditionist view, both this passage and that in ROMEO (III, iii, 43) :—

And sayst thou yet that exile is not death?

are imitations of Marlowe: a conception which at once arouses the thought that even if Shakespeare made such a cheap echo once he would hardly do it twice. But scrutiny of all three strongly suggests the inference that the Romeo passage is Marlowe's echo of himself; while that in the Two GENTLEMEN, marked as it is by the monotonously rapid iambic movement and thin iteration of Greene, is *his* echo of Marlowe, the

GENTLEMEN being inferably, as I have elsewhere argued,¹ one of Green's very latest works. Romeo's speech is as Marlovian in manner and movement as that of Valentine is Greenean. On this as on other points we are led once more to the hypothesis of a pre-Shakespearean ROMEO AND JULIET, dating about 1590, and shared-in by Marlowe and Greene.

The whole scene in ROMEO has a pre-Shakespearean colouring. The lines:

Not I, unless the breath of heart-sick groans,
Mist-like, infold me from the search of eyes,

are emphatically of that kind; and such lines as:—

Yet *banished*! Hang up philosophy,
Unless philosophy can make a Juliet,

must certainly be reckoned as written "in apprenticeship to Marlowe" if they be not his. And though we can conceive Peele or Kyd to have echoed him here in such a line as (iv, v, 37):

Flower as she was, deflowered by him,

we cannot make the exorbitant assumption, now forced anew on the traditionist, of wholesale imitation, at once of Marlowe and of three others, by the young Shakespeare. On that view, he must now be conceived as not only echoing at twenty points, in this one play, Marlowe's poetry and rhetoric, but as constructing the "I" puns and the "fly" pun by way of abject tribute to *that* side of Marlowe's (and Kyd's) art. It is perhaps now a practicable course to assume that the student dismisses the Imitation Theory as a sufficiently discredited fallacy.

The inference fitly to be drawn from all the data is that the new lead given to Marlowe by the story of Romeo and Juliet, which moved him to a new vitality of poetic feeling, was what led him to take up the tale of Hero and Leander as theme for a poem. The poem has many touches insistently recalling the play—touches

¹ See *The Shakespeare Canon*, Part II.

not to be found in Musæus, though the Greek poem remains a much more nearly perfect thing than the powerful medley which Marlowe and Chapman evolved from it. The lines:—

Sweet are the kisses, the embracements sweet,
When like desires and like affections meet;
For from the earth to heaven is Cupid rais'd
Where fancy is in equal balance pais'd,

are the fit comment on the difference of Romeo's love for Juliet from his love for Rosaline. The lines of Hero (I, 353-6):—

A dwarfish beldame bears me company,
That hops about the chamber where I lie,
And spends the night, that might be better spent,
In vain discourse and apish merriment,

tell of Juliet's nurse, as she would be regarded by Marlowe (who surely did not develop *her* part, though the Nurse in Dido suggests her, for there is no such item in Musæus. And these (II.) 175-6):—

Where both deliberate, the love is slight:
Who ever loved, that loved not at first sight?

are again inspired by the English play, not by the Greek poem.

These lovers parl'd by *the touch of hands*

is equally a reminiscence of the play—the poet reproducing his own (or another's) picture in the banquet scene. And Marlowe's lines in the poem:

they [sun and wind] took delight
To play upon those hands, they were so white,

(II. 29-30) equally point to (III, iii, 35):

They [flies] may seize
On the white wonder of dear Juliet's hand¹

while the "steal immortal blessing² from her lips"

¹ "Fair Juliet's *skin*" in Q 1. This may reasonably be supposed to be a press error.

² *Kisses* in Q 1, which we may take to be the original form in this case,

points as obviously to Faustus' "make me immortal with a kiss." So too Leander's lines (I, 207-8):

My words shall be as spotless as my youth,
Full of simplicity and naked truth,

tell of Juliet's

I'll prove more true
Than those that have more cunning to be strange,

for they are not in Musæus. And so with the lines (i, 94 sq.):

Thither resorted many a wandering guest
To meet their loves: such as had none at all
Came lovers home from this great festival;
For every *street*, like to a firmament,
Glistened with *breathing stars*, who, where they went,
Frightened the melancholy earth, which deem'd
Eternal heaven to burn, for so it seem'd,
As if another Phaëton had got
The guidance of the sun's rich chariot.
But, far above the loveliest, Hero shin'd
And stole away th' enchanted gazer's mind,

which are not only a picture of the banquet scene, dominated by Juliet's beauty, but an unmistakable echo of the play line (I, ii, 25):

Earth-treading stars that make dark heaven light;

and of these (II, ii, 15 sq.):

Two of the fairest stars in all the heaven
Having some business, do entreat her eyes
To twinkle in their spheres till they return.
What if her eyes were there, they in her head?
The brightness of her cheek would shame those stars
As daylight doth a lamp; her eyes in heaven
Would through the airy region stream so bright
That birds would sing and think it were not night.

In the ardent rhetoric of the poem we are listening, not to Marlowe echoing Shakespearean rhetoric which was in itself Marlowese, but to Marlowe's own *floritura* in the new mode, to which, with a still more heightened inspiration, he eagerly returns in *HERO AND LEANDER*, as well he might, since the strain is more epico-lyrical

than dramatic. It is in fact impossible candidly to deny that either the poem echoes the play to an extent to which Marlowe never elsewhere echoes anyone but himself, or the play is packed with echoes of the poem. And this alternative is inadmissible. No doubt Shakespeare would be among the first to read the poem in manuscript, either before or after Marlowe's death. But if he be the imitator he is writing "in discipleship to Marlowe" to an extent of which Dowden clearly had no notion when he penned the phrase. And, once more, that hypothesis is too exorbitant. Rational criticism must recognise that the true solution is the habitual echoing of Marlowe by himself.

In other parts of the play we seem to trace his hand in dialogue of another sort. In the long fifth scene of the third Act, where so much happens after Romeo's departure, both the diction and the now multiplying double-endings are more in his manner, I think, than in those of the other pre-Shakespeareans; though there has been some interpolation. Juliet's ill-inspired lines:

Madam, if you could find out but a man
To bear a poison, I would temper it;
That Romeo should upon receipt thereof
Soon sleep in quiet. O how¹ my heart abhors
To hear him named, and cannot come to him,
To wreak the love I bore my cousin Tybalt,
Upon his body that hath slaughtered him,

and her mother's

Find out the means, and I'll find such a man,

which are lacking in Q I, savour distinctly more of Kyd than of Marlowe. But the storming speeches of Capulet, I think, are of Marlowe's drafting; and many lines (not to mention "All the world to nothing") recall his diction and versification as we have them in RICHARD III; and Juliet's "Ancient damnation!" speech I should assign to him with some confidence.

And in view of all these traces of Marlowe's presence

¹ Mr. Dugdale Sykes, I presume, would assign this passage to Peele. But the "O how" form is common. See *Introd. to Canon*, p. 290.

in our play, it is not finally justifiable to assign to Peele the "Gallop apace" soliloquy, in which the opening repetition of a Marlowe speech is just the kind of thing Marlowe does a score of times with lines and phrases of his which specially pleased him.¹ It is not merely that after the opening lines we have yet another echo of this part of the play in *HERO AND LEANDER* (I, 189 sq.) :

And night, deep drench'd in misty Acheron,
Heav'd up her head and half the world upon
Breath'd darkness forth (*dark night is Cupid's day*).
And now began Leander to display
Love's holy fire,

and that Juliet's praise of Romeo is in the taste of Marlowe's praise of Leander. The whole movement has his fling and zest. The main reason for surmising that Peele may there have plagiarised him was the likelihood that *he* might have written "renommy," and the unlikelihood that Marlowe would. But the word may well have been "Rumoure's"; and there is still a third possibility, which may be the true solution. Marlowe frequently does violence to a word in scansion: besides forcing us to read "ent-e-ry," "frust-e-rate," "sec-e-ret," "hât-e-red," "nost-e-rils," "offsp-e-riſſing," and "Henery," he makes us at one time read "sèpùlchre" and at another "sepùlchre"; at one time "hòrizon" and at another "horizon"; he has both "thēatre" and "theâtre"; in the *Jew* he has "con-sci-ènſe" and "con-science" in two successive lines (I, i); and in this very play, in a passage which may more fitly be assigned to him than to anyone else, we actually have to read "cònjure" (II, i, 6, 16, 17) and "conjured" (I. 26) in the same speech. Marlowe then was really capable of making us read:

That Rènowme's² eyes may wink, and Romeo
Leap to these arms untalk'd of and unseen,

which would sufficiently give that *ductus literarum* that purists demand, even if there were no clear *y* in

¹ See the instances given in *The Shakespeare Canon*, Part II, p. 107 sq.

² He may even have written "Rennowme's," as he spells both 'kis' and 'kisse.'

the script. It is really an overstrained pedantry which denies what every author knows, that printers' errors often deviate widely from even the apparent outline of the script. Halliwell-Phillipps compiled a list¹ of over 2000 errata in books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which editors of Shakespeare would do well to examine. It shows many a departure from the *ductus literarum*, and includes samples of insertion of "y's" (as: *community* for *communicate*) and "g's" (as *eighteen* for *thirteen*) where they were not written, and the disregard of them where they were (as: *continuance* for *contumacy*, and *convinced* for *charged*). *Constrained* for *painted* is one achievement.² We may venture, then, to read "Rènowme's eyes," perhaps "Renowmè's," if not "Renommy's," and so dismiss one tiresome dispute.

But even the reading "Rumour's eyes" is certainly not to be barred by the fact that in the prologue to 2 HENRY IV Rumour is figured as "painted full of tongues." That very figure is derived from Virgil's *monstrum horrendum*, with as many eyes as plumes, and as many tongues, mouths, and ears; and if they once put her on the stage with only her tongues in evidence, she was none the less for every poet one of the most familiar of all poetic figures, debated over from Macrobius onwards. It is interesting to note that the very poet of the HENRY IV prologue was probably Marlowe. Though Professor A. E. Morgan raises no such question in his able and important paper on "Some Problems of Shakespeare's HENRY THE FOURTH,"³ all the reasons for connecting Marlowe with a pre-Shakespearean play on Henry V go to suggest that he would have a hand in the early HENRY IV play which Professor Morgan so clearly shows to have underlain the existing text.

¹ *A Dictionary of Misprints*, 1887.

² Since this was penned, there has appeared Dr. B. A. P. Van Dam's massive treatise on *The Text of Shakespeare's Hamlet* (Lane, 1924), which sets out with a careful scholarly survey of the phenomena not only of misprints but of miswritings in MSS. Whether or not we assent to Dr. Van Dam's main conclusions, his survey of this and many other problems is illuminating, and should be considered by all students of textual questions.

³ Sh. Assoc. paper: Oxford Univ. Press, 1924.

Diverging here from Professor Morgan, I prefer to regard the old HENRY V as a construction by the academics on the basis of the original FAMOUS VICTORIES, which I take to have been primarily a prose play, by actors, one of those upon which blank verse had begun to be grafted as in the A SHREW version, and as we see happening in the old RICHARD III. Upon these intermediate forms, representing the first pressure of the blank-verse mode on the older drama of prose and jiggling verse, followed the more or less completely versified chronicle plays of the Marlowe school. Shakespeare's HENRY IV, as Professor Morgan shows, makes a judicious reversion to prose for comic purposes: the previous play had been wholly or almost wholly in verse. And no likelier hand than Marlowe's, I think, can be named for the surviving prologue to 2 HENRY IV.

On any view, however, the author of that prologue certainly knew the *locus classicus*, the whole description of *Fama*, whom he duplicates into the "monster with uncounted heads, the . . . multitude." He knew as well as Peele that Fame was to be figured in a stole "set with eyes and ears and tongues." To argue that he did not conceive *Rumor* as having eyes because he did not there mention them is to forget that, introducing her as "painted full of tongues," he yet calls her "a pipe" upon which the multitude can play. After that easy use of metaphor, it would be idle to argue that the writer of Juliet's soliloquy cannot have been thinking of *Fama* when he figures the eyes of the abstract being as "winking" by night, where Virgil wrote:

Nocte volat cœli medio, terræque per umbram
Stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno.

He would have laughed at anyone who complained that *Rumor* never winked: Virgil's

Luce sedet custos, aut summi culmine tecti

was for him a sufficient pretext for making her, for once in a way, cease to function in the darkness. The central idea of the passage is that of the poem, that "dark

night is Cupid's day"; and *that* finally serves to fasten on Marlowe the "love-performing Night" of the soliloquy. For he too has his compound epithets—for instance, "dreary Mars-carousing-nectar bowls"—though not so many as Peele.

For the rest, it is to Marlowe, I think, that we should assign the draft of the bulk of the dramatic as distinguished from the narrative portions of Act v. One says "the draft," for there is much appearance of a Shakespearean control over Marlovian diction. We have seen how the line :

And breath'd such life with kisses in my lips

points to HERO AND LEANDER ; and the lines :

There is thy gold, worse poison to men's souls,
Doing more murders in this loathsome world
Than these poor compounds that thou may'st not sell,

point similarly to the cadence and the sentiment of those in THE JEW (I, ii) :

Why, I esteem the injury far less
To take the lives of miserable men
Than be the causes of their misery ;

though there may have been a heightening of the diction throughout the scene by the hand of Shakespeare. Scene ii, with its short iambic pulsation, hints rather of Greene ; but scene iii has again a Marlovian movement ; and the cluster of four double-endings carries the same inference.

The line movement, in short, is Marlovian down to the death of Juliet, save that the alteration of her "comfortable friar" speech from the Q 1 form :

And what we talk'd of ; but yet I cannot see
Him for whose sake I undertook the hazard,

to the simpler :

And there I am. Where is my Romeo ?

seems a Shakespeare touch ; and the Friar's reply, with its rise into solemnity and sonority, sets up the same

impression. Thereafter, we have a rewriting of the flat verse of the Friar's narrative in Q 1; and here again, though the recast is unambitious, we seem to have Shakespeare's hand. The Prince's speech:

Seal up the mouth of outrage for a while

—a recast of the four-line speech in Q 1, yielding the note of stateliness which Shakespeare so often lent to kings—sets up the suggestion of his presence;¹ though at best the narrative is an anticlimax, telling of an early stage of play-construction.

VII. GREENE MATTER?

The apparent entrance of Greene in one short scene of Act v, as above noted, is not the only or the chief trace of him. After we have broadly identified the share of Marlowe, the matter which most definitely raises the question of another hand than Peele's or Kyd's is that of the principal rhyming-scene—ii, iii. Marlowe certainly employed rhyme as well as blank-verse in drama; and I have elsewhere² claimed for him the Talbot scenes in 1 HENRY VI. Verse of that kind is found in our play; and his could conceivably be the hand that drafted Romeo's speech at the sight of Juliet. Peele too introduced couplet matter into his plays; but never effectively; and his rhymed manner is not here recognisable. But in the scene at Friar Laurence's cell, neither is Marlowe's. This sympathetic handling of the friar, indeed, is as drama out of keeping with the attitude and temper of either Marlowe or Peele, neither of whom ever treats a Catholic priest otherwise than coarsely. Hence a special readiness to see in this scene the drafting of Shakespeare, who seems to have had no anti-Catholic animus.

¹ Among one's guesses which are incapable of proof may be mentioned this—that Shakespeare played the part of the Friar, and might wish to have it less slipshod at the close. Another is that he may have penned the Queen Mab speech when playing Mercutio. The two parts, by the way, could have been played by one actor in one performance.

² *The Shakespeare Canon*, Part II, pp. 78-89.

But, if we look to workmanship, here also we must impute marked imitation if we take him to be the draftsman. This time the model, either as to form or sentiment, is not Marlowe, and still less Peele or Kyd. Much stronger than any apparent hint of any of these hands in rhyming couplets, so far as I can recall, is the suggestion of Greene in the rhymed scene, II, iii, of which the sententious couplets seem so near akin to the best of those in JAMES IV.¹ The work is too neat for Kyd, too didactic for Marlowe, and too concise for Peele; and if it be not Greene's it is early work of Shakespeare, really imitating Greene this time. How Swinburne, with this before him, could speak of the Marlowese couplets in RICHARD II as a last surrender of Shakespeare to the influence of Greene, is one of the many puzzles set up by the Victorian poet's dogmatics.

One reason for suspecting Greene's hand is the false syntax² of the couplet:—

Virtue itself turns vice, being misapplied,
And vice sometimes by action dignified—

a kind of lapse that does not seem to be in the young Shakespeare's way; while the sentiment as well as the sententious manner is Greenean. The work "chequering," as it happens, is one of his;³ and the couplet:—

The earth that's nature's mother is her tomb;
What is her burying grave, that is her womb;

is an echo of Spenser—

With bloody mouth his mother earth did kiss,
Greeting his grave.

F.Q. I, ii, 19;

Crying creep out of their mother's womb,
So wailing back go to their woful tomb.

RUINES OF TIME, st. 7;

—such as Greene so many times produces. The diction, too, is at his level: "burying grave" is not recognisably

¹ *Ib.* p. 79.

² Unless we read: "some time's," which would still be poor work.

³ See *Introduction to the Canon*, p. 216.

one of Shakespeare's touches, as we appraise them. At best, we might account the scene a revision of Greene by the young master, still unconfident in himself.

If, however, Greene is to be supposed present to this extent, it seems unlikely that he should not have done more; and one might naturally look for him in the stanza-passages (I, ii, 46; v, ii, 12, and v, iii, end), though Kyd also affects that form in the SPANISH TRAGEDY. Certainly the lines:

Tut, man, one fire burns out another's burning,
One pain is lessen'd by another's anguish,

are markedly in Greene's manner and sentiment, down to the "tut"; while the three closing lines:

One desperate grief cures with another's languish:
Take thou some new infection to thy eye,
And the rank poison of the old will die,

point noticeably to such lines of his as:

Love is hatch'd in their [women's] eye;
Thence it steppeth to the heart;
There it poisoneth every part.

Isabel's Ode in NEVER TOO LATE.

But beyond this particular stanza there is little to identify him in those three snatches; while the couplets in Lady Capulet's praise of Paris (I, iii, 79-99) are quite particularly like him, at once in their phrasing and in their iambic stress, as are Lady Capulet's and the Prince's couplets at the end of the scene (III, i) in which Romeo is sentenced to banishment. The diction has no Shakespearean savour; and the manner is not Kyd's or Marlowe's. When, however, we turn to the "sonnet" lines (I, v, 95) in which Romeo and Juliet exchange their first greetings, it is fairly clear that another hand has taken charge; and we are left inferring an indeterminable share of Greene's work in the play, revised or rewritten by Shakespeare.

But when we turn to Romeo's speech at his first sight

of Juliet, and pass from the rapture of the opening lines :

O, she doth teach the torches to burn bright !
It seems she hangs upon the cheek of night
Like a rich jewel in an Ethiope's ear !

to the rhyming lines which follow, we are conscious of a descent to the plane of Greene ; and the lines :

The measure done, I'll watch her place of stand,
And, touching hers, make blessed my rude hand.
Did my heart love till now ? forswear it, sight !
For I ne'er saw true beauty *till this night*.

are as exactly in his iambic mode as the last is in the key of his customary rhetoric, though here we cannot pretend to exclude Marlowe. In prose, Greene gives us :

Beauty have I beheld in his highest orb ; but never set eye on
immortality *before this hour*.

MENAPHON, Arber's rep. p. 60.

What is for Greene normal, would have been for Shakespeare a fall. The ensuing dialogue of Tybalt and Capulet is much more vitalised, and can pass as Shakespeare's revision of Marlowe.

The presumption is that Greene's share in the piece was penned in an early stage, alongside of Peele's, and that it was thus liable to Kyd's revision as well as Shakespeare's. On that view it would be possible to account for what appears to be poor alteration in the second Quarto of matter in the first that does not appear to be Peele's. But in the Friar's exhortation to the unmann'd Romeo in III, iii, I am disposed to see the little altered work of Greene, who, having elaborated the Friar's part at the outset, was likely to do so here. The speech is long, out of proportion to the need ; and throughout it is in the markedly iambic manner of Greene's later work, which is not the manner of Marlowe, or of Peele, or of Kyd, or of Shakespeare.

For the rest, while Shakespeare would be quick to appreciate Kyd's rapidly developed realism, to the point of leaving much or most of it standing in ROMEO AND

JULIET, he would be particularly likely to crave here for something finer than Greene's handling of a tragic passion. In *THE TWO GENTLEMEN* he had done very little recasting: here we find his hand in every Act, though, as aforesaid, he has probably done little to the part of the Friar. "What more natural," as Signor Croce would say, than that the excellent old plot should appeal to him as, later, did that of *HAMLET*, precisely by presenting a theme worthy of his powers? And here again it is entirely congruent that Kyd should be a main intermediary. If any man in the early fifteen-nineties was able to appreciate the new kind of dramatic force revealed in *ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM*, Shakespeare was; and it is work on that tangent of tragedy that connects Kyd with *ROMEO AND JULIET*.

VIII. KYD'S WORK, AND OTHER MATTER

As to Kyd's presence, we have seen, there need be no hedging on the part of those who are prepared to confess to alien elements in the Folio. The sections admitted to be in his manner in the second Quarto are assignable to no one else, because they suggest no one else. And the same hand is to be traced in correlated portions of the play which are none the less in his style though they could not be supposed by anyone to be parodies of him. For *ROMEO AND JULIET* stands out from all other pre-Shakespearean tragedy, save Kyd's, in regard to realism of detail. About 1593-5 it would be a notably "up-to-date" play in the "popular" category, in which, probably, *ARDEN* never stood. Where the first playwrights painfully supplied scenes of "comic relief" to their tragic rants, this newer art continues the action by connecting scenes, bringing in servants and musicians talking in character. When it comes to making the musicians relieve the stage strain of mourning over the only apparently dead Juliet, the result is crude enough to the modern taste; and it is not lightly to be ascribed to Shakespeare save by those

who can believe that he penned the preceding scene by way of burlesquing Kyd. He who can believe that can indeed believe anything. But the simple humorous realism of the scene was broadly congruous with the context; and Shakespeare could quite fitly leave it standing.

Kyd's work on the play, however, can be seen to have gone further. If the "Chorus" sonnets do not belong to the old play, they are more likely to be Peele's or Kyd's than Greene's in respect of their homespun diction, and if the second Chorus is to be regarded as an expedient to cover the removal of banquet material, it is to the hand of Kyd that we may most plausibly assign it. Though he has achieved some notable effects in his translation of Garnier's *CORNÉLIE*, he is, as a play-maker, the least poetically endowed of the pre-Shakespearean group; yet he runs much to expressly poetical forms. *ARDEN*, broadly speaking, represents his recognition of his true function, his real gift, that of a plotter of realistic plays with a character interest; and there is some little reason to think that his work on *ROMEO AND JULIET* may be even earlier than *ARDEN*.

One clue is the rate of double-endings. In two of Juliet's verse speeches in III, v (60-64, 65-67), which are represented only by brief prose phrases in Q 1, we have five double-endings to eight lines, of which the flat diction is unassignable to either Marlowe or Shakespeare; while the double-endings are out of keeping with the early practice of Greene and Peele, who further are in no way suggested by the diction, while Kyd distinctly is. When the same manner is found in further insertions in the scene, the inference is strong.

Another clue is the humorous element, which relates the play to *SOLIMAN AND PERSEDA*. In *ARDEN* and the *WARNING FOR FAIRE WOMEN* there is little humour: realism has for the most part rejected the incongruity of laughter and crime: in *ROMEO AND JULIET* mirth can still hold place. And unless we credit Kyd with such humorous matter as the Basilisco scenes in *SOLIMAN* and some of the comic scenes in *ROMEO*, there is no

explanation for Jonson's allusion to him in 1623 as "sporting Kyd." Jonson would hardly put the epithet without a ground; and if Kyd could create *Basilisco*, he had a humorous vein above the average.

We are on specially difficult ground, however, when we raise the question whether Shakespeare developed the Nurse. An outcry is certain to arise when it is even asked whether there can be any doubt on the subject. But this is one of the special difficulties of our problem. We can trace Shakespeare with a certain security in poetic blank-verse; and when we note at the close of the mourning section of the last scene of Act iv the diction and the line-ended structure of Friar Laurence's speech, we may with reasonable confidence deny that it is of Shakespeare's penning. The lines:

She's not well married that lives married long;
But she's best married that dies married young;
Dry up your tears, and stick your rosemary
On this fair corse; and, *as the custom is,*
In all her best array bear her to church:
For though fond nature bids us all lament,
Yet nature's tears are *reason's merriment*,

have neither the rhythm nor the diction, and still less the feeling, of him who wrote the lines of Juliet in the cell, where we have already had from Friar Laurence the specification:

As the manner of our country is,
In thy best robes uncover'd on the bier,

which reveals the play-planner, not the poet. The hand which penned the phrase "reason's merriment" again, seems the likeliest to have written Lady Capulet's lines (III, v, 73-74):

Therefore, have done: some grief shows much of love;
But much of grief shows still some want of wit,

which are not in Q 1. Here again the inference is that Kyd is touching up the previous dialogue. And when we find in the same scene the lines cited above (p. 178) in which Juliet quibbles about the poison she

would willingly send to Romeo—lines which also are lacking in Q 1, and which in diction and style savour so strongly of Kyd as compared with any of the other collaborators—we are strengthened in the view that he did a quantity of retouching and expanding throughout the play, whatever else he may have done.

The problem is much more obscure when we come to the serio-comic vernacular verse¹ of the Nurse in her opening scene. This is a complete departure from the talk of the Nurse in scene ii of the German play, which, as above noted, is much more in the manner and spirit of the sketch of the Nurse in DIDO. Our Nurse, like those in DIDO and in the German ROMEO, talks of her missing teeth; but her expansive discourse on Juliet's infancy is a new humoristic development. A singular bibliographical feature in the case is that in both Quartos the Nurse's talk in I, iii, is printed in italics, as is the Clown's following speech in Q 1; and what those italics signify is not easy to guess. Mr. Daniel makes no comment in his editions; and the editors, I think, have unanimously ignored the phenomenon. Yet it is enigmatic.

The only natural inference seems to be that the matter in italics is a special addition to the play—perhaps thus printed because it had not been previously played. On that view, the one writer of the group to whom it does not seem reasonably assignable is Shakespeare. Additions by him, made in ordinary course, before the play was passed on to a touring company, would not be so treated. In 1597, all the other contributors to the play were dead. Had any one of them left this interpolation behind him, to print it in italics would be a way of paying a small tribute to his memory; or, if the printers of Q 1 knew they had in it something not possessed by the theatre company, they might in this way call attention to it. That it should be copied in Q 2, still in italics, would

¹ It was Capell who first printed it as verse, which it was obviously intended to be. In both Quartos and in the Folio it is printed as prose, as is the Queen Mab speech in Q 2.

naturally follow. No other explanation suggests itself. But in such circumstances it is conceivable that the new matter came from the hand of an outsider not previously connected with the play.

That the Nurse had had *some* farcical matter assigned to her at an early stage of the play is to be inferred from Marlowe's allusion in *HERO AND LEANDER* to the "apish merriment" of Hero's "aged beldame" (who, as it happens, is described as "the nurse" in Nashe's *PRAISE OF THE RED HERRING*, published in 1599).¹ This would seem to convey that Marlowe did not like the earlier fooling, even as he is understood to have disliked the clowning scenes introduced into *TAMBURLAINE*. Could Marlowe, then, have left behind him this new matter, intended to replace previous matter?

He is about the last of his group to whom we should look for such a sketch. Yet we have seen reason to think that it may have been he who made Juliet fourteen where the early play made her sixteen; and that point is here specially handled. The text suggests, even apart from the German version, that previously Lady Capulet had put the figure at sixteen, and that the Nurse argues for fourteen. And though we should not expect Marlowe to invent such a speech, it may have been that he actually heard some such dialogue,² and saw how effectively it might go upon the stage. Though not himself a humorist, he might well appreciate such an episode.

If the matter be not his, it is difficult to say whose it was. Peele, indeed, might conceivably have done it; and Daniel cites the idiom "Bounce, quoth the guns," from his *OLD WIFE'S TALE* as paralleling "Shake, quoth the dove-house," in the Nurse's speech. The presence of it as new matter in *Q 1* might be speculatively accounted for on a theory that Peele, having been ousted from control of the play in the hands of Shake-

¹ Works, ed. M'Kerrow, iii, 196. "The toothlesse trotte, her nurse," is one of Nashe's phrases.

² Such might be the basis of the allusion to the earthquake, which has led to so much chronological debate.

speare's company, wrote an addition for the travelling company who owned the curtailed version. But this is only speculation. On the other hand, the vein of humour does not suggest Kyd's or Greene's; and though Nashe had all the requisite humour, there is no footing for any theory of his interposition. Verbal and stylistic clues are alike nearly lacking. Only the negative inference stands clear: the speech is a late addition to the text, and is presumably not by Shakespeare.

While, however, this issue is necessarily left undetermined, in the lack of clues, the general proposition as to the non-Shakespearean origin of the play is established not only by the clear priority of the German version but by the medley of styles, from the prologue onwards. Unless we are to propound the new fantasy that Shakespeare's early work was handed over by his company to his corrivals for recasting, we must once more choose between the egregious conception of him as helplessly imitating everybody about him (to the extent of parodying four styles in *ROMEO* as in *TITUS*, with the addition, in *ROMEO*, of some work of his own) and the rational inference that the alien styles stand for alien matter. And, once more, we may venture to predict that, however the traditionists may repugn, the critical common-sense of the reading world will come round to the rational verdict.

IX. ULTIMATE CRITICISM

Whatever may be the results, in detail, of that further scrutiny of the concrete problems of the plays which ought to follow on the positing of them, we are already delivered, it may be hoped, from the kind of biographical speculation permitted to themselves over this as over other plays by the professed opponents of speculative criticism.

Dr. Chambers, as usual, is the most fantastic theorist. Expressly refusing¹ to date the play as early as 1591,

¹ Introd. to "Red Letter" ed.

he thinks it was "probably produced in 1594," *because* it "*seems* to be parodied in A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, which can hardly be later than January 1595." This last assignment proceeds, reasonably enough, on the acceptance of Fleay's view that the DREAM was *produced* for the Derby marriage in the month named. But that very conclusion involves the placing of the *writing* of the DREAM in 1594. And here we come into fatal collision with the critic's psychic theory of the genesis of ROMEO AND JULIET :—

"Like all the plays of this period, it reflects something of that disturbance in Shakespeare's own emotional life, of which the more direct, though far from clear, record is in the *Sonnets*."

At the very outset we pause, driven to ask how on earth Dr. Chambers can know that the love trouble in the Sonnets had occurred as early as the first part of 1594? But there is worse guessing to come :—

"Shakespeare had been, at the age of thirty or thereabouts, in love, and it has proved rather a serious matter. He has come through the fire and is more or less whole again, no doubt (!) ; but he still remains much preoccupied with his puzzling and not altogether satisfactory adventure. Both A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM and ROMEO AND JULIET are attempts on the part of a reflective and youngish man to *state life* in terms of the force by which he has been nearly tripped up and is still obsessed. That the statement is a somewhat conventional one may *perhaps* be explained by the fact that many other youngish poets have shared the experiences by which it is prompted. *Of course*, the two plays differ entirely in their way of putting things. In A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM the problem is seen from the comic point of view. Life as the sport of love is a bewildering fantasy, a game of hide-and-seek. But A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM is an afterthought, written while the poignancy of the experience fades (!) and the sense of humour asserts itself. Certain elements of it seem like a deliberate travesty of ROMEO AND JULIET."

And then, this :—

"The comic point of view is not *wholly* absent from the tragic and *probably* earlier play. It is embodied in the irony and the audacious licence of Mercutio's talk."

An adequate parallel can be found only in the description of the tiger in the peep-show : "Fourteen feet from the

tip of the nose to the tip of the tail, and fifteen feet from the tip of the tail to the tip of the nose, making twenty-nine feet in all."

Dr. Chambers, so given to animadverting on the sentimentality of Shakespeare biographers, so resentful of any suggestion which impinges on him as "fantasy," easily outgoes all the sentimentalists and all the fantasists over play after play. In this extravaganza, Shakespeare falls in love early in 1594, to the extent of being "nearly tripped up," and thereupon he writes *ROMEO AND JULIET*; whereafter, in the same year, he remains puzzled and obsessed, but proceeds to write the *Pyramus and Thisbe* fooling in the *DREAM* by way of burlesquing his own experience. All the same, he had set *Mercutio* burlesquing it in advance, about the time he was entering on the experience—unless, indeed, we date the experience in spring, the tragedy in summer, and the comedy in autumn; certainly thus presenting a busy and fruitful year! It is with a sharp sense of disappointment that, on turning to the fantasist's edition of *LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST*, to discover at what stage of Shakespeare's amatory experience *that* was framed by way of self-portrayal or self-indemnification, we find no light vouchsafed. In that play *Berowne* professes to have been one of the laughers at love, and now to have succumbed; but Dr. Chambers becomes cryptic over the conundrum, and as to the chronology offers only the cold hint: "My own preference, to which, in view of the scanty evidence, I do not hold strongly, is for 1593-4." Which would seem to mean that Shakespeare had been all over the ground, pro and con, before he had his attack and his remedies in 1594.

The student is perhaps already not unprepared to pronounce that whatever may be said for any given sentimental theory or biographical fantasy on its merits, there is certainly nothing to be said for these. On Dr. Chambers's plan, we shall go myth-mongering all the way from the *DREAM* to *CYMBELINE*, finding experimental grounds in the *Sonnets* or in our own heads for every play Shakespeare wrote or did not write, fooling our-

selves to the top of our bent. But nowhere can we well have more extravagant nonsense than here, almost at the outset, over the egregious proposition that Shakespeare founded ROMEO AND JULIET on his personal experience and then, within a few months, made game of it in the DREAM. The reader, perhaps, may not yet have made up his mind to admit that the story was already substantially staged, with no serious difference as regards the serious matter, in the pre-Shakespearean play preserved in the German version. But he knows for certain that the story had been accessible in English, in Brooke's version, for over thirty years before the date at which Shakespeare, finding it unaccountably neglected by his immediate predecessors, is declared to have taken it up and dramatised it. If Shakespeare's experience is required to account for his writing of the play, Brooke's experience, and Painter's, and Bandello's, and Boistau's, and Masuccio's and Da Porto's before them, and Lope de Vega's after them, must be reckoned as explaining each and every handling of the same story. *Solvuntur tabulae*. Dr. Chambers's psychics and æsthetics almost defy burlesque.

Be we orthodox or heterodox, we must surely agree (barring Dr. Chambers) that even if Shakespeare had drafted the play at the stage at which we see it in the German version, he was but staging a tale that had been told; and that it really did not need a new love affair to explain his handling of every fresh love-story as it came. He was no more "stating life" in terms of Romeo and Juliet than he was stating it in terms of Mercutio. He was just adapting plays for his theatre; and even as he could search the souls of Macbeth and Lear without having committed murder or given his all to his daughters and gone mad, he could at need re-imagine Romeo and Juliet even before he met the Dark Lady, and laugh over Pyramus and Thisbe without any need thereby to salve his own soul after a misadventure. Not thus, verily, is Shakespeare's secret to be grasped. "Am I easier to be played on than a pipe?" asks Hamlet of the King's spies. "Am I easier to be deciphered than

a modern novel, written *for* decipherment?" Shakespeare's ghost might ask of some of his editors. The madder of the Baconians believe that Bacon literally wrote autobiography in the Shakespeare plays in cipher. Dr. Chambers appears to be sure that the poet did it in a symbolic cipher which it was left for his editor to read, for the purpose of framing introductions to the Red Letter edition. There is at least a certain similarity of self-confidence in the framing of the two theories.

More philosophic critics than Dr. Chambers, however, have shared in the *fumisterie* which discovers Shakespeare's mentality by ascribing to him the origination of everything, or everything of importance, in the Folio. It was Coleridge who said, in 1818, that "it affords a strong instance of the fineness of [Shakespeare's] insight into the nature of the passions, that Romeo is introduced already love-bewildered. . . . Rosaline was a mere creation of his fancy."¹ The student knows that Romeo is thus introduced in Brooke's poem. In 1818 that poem had been well known to students for forty years, since, says Boswell in 1821, "it was published [by Malone] in his Supplement to Johnson and Steevens's Shakespeare, 1778; and has since occupied a place in all the subsequent editions." Many of us in youth owed to Coleridge a kind of stimulus to the study of Shakespeare, the memory of which keeps us lenient to his aberrations; but we can best make good that influence by following a less haphazard method than his. What was in the minds of the Italians who wrought the story was not the thin conception on which Coleridge repeatedly dilated, but the quite definite Italian and Marlovian perception that she who returns love for love at first sight creates a very different sort of flame from that which flickers before an unanswering shrine.

The fatality of the Coleridgean method of idolatry is that it recoils upon itself. "I own I am proud," he declared in 1818, "that I was the first in time who publicly demonstrated to the full extent of the position that the supposed irregularity and extravagances of

¹ *Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare*. Ashe's ed., p. 322.

Shakespeare were the mere dreams of a pedantry that arraigned the eagle because it had not the dimensions of the swan. In all the successive courses of lectures delivered by me, since my first attempt at the Royal Institution, it has been, and still remains, my object to prove that in all points, from the most important to the most minute, the judgment of Shakespeare is commensurate with his genius—nay, that his genius reveals itself in his judgment, as in its most exalted form.”¹ We have travelled some way from that position in a hundred years. Dr. Chambers, iconolatrous if not idolatrous, finds it difficult to bestow such praise on many plays. And if we read critically we are indeed compelled to ask how Coleridge could pretend that in *ROMEO AND JULIET*, where he found subtle wisdom in what we know to have been a mere adherence to a trodden path of narrative, he could possibly profess to see perfect judgment in certain samples of false style and false feeling. How did *he* account for the laments which White and Spalding were content to regard as burlesque? What did *he* make of Juliet’s epithalamion? What kind of judgment did he find revealed in the lines (III, ii, 45-51):

Hath Romeo slain himself? say thou but ‘I,’
And that bare vowel ‘I’ shall poison more
Than the death-darting eye of cockatrice:
I am not I, if there be such an I;
Or those eyes shut, that makes thee answer ‘I.’
If he be slain, say ‘I’; or if not, no:
Brief sounds determine of my weal or woe——?

Coleridge, on challenge, would perhaps have made a show of vindicating even such spurious rhetoric; but not in his saner moods; and to-day no one will so play the idolater. These magenta patches force us to avow that if Shakespeare wrote so at any period his judgment was at times far to seek, inasmuch as they display all the bad taste of any of his corrivals. And it is not a blind allegiance but simple loyalty to consistency in

¹ *Notes and Lectures*, pp. 225-6.

judgment that moves us to inquire whether such writing is not a survival from some of the other hands which on the most strictly bibliographical grounds we are led to regard as having worked on the play before him. Seeking sheer historical and critical truth, we may hope to do more towards making good Coleridge's rash claim than he could, with his imperfect application of the style-test which he at times justly and successfully applied to alien matter in the plays.

We too, assuredly, run our risks of misadventure, inasmuch as our tests remain partly subjective. For we must either face such risks or ignominiously surrender to the claim that all the fatuities and all the fustian, all the bad work in all the bad styles represented in the Folio, must pass as Shakespeare's writing. As we have seen, the iconolaters themselves recoil from the humiliation they invoke, and spasmodically reject from time to time the more unendurable matter in which they declare we have no right of picking and choosing.

It is a matter of sheer critical common-sense, then, to substitute for their random reactions a strict rule of critical scrutiny over the entire text. The fundamentally important thing is that our criticism shall always proceed on a connotation of all the data. Such a method, at least, will preserve us alike from the more gratuitous idolatries of Coleridge and the still more gratuitous mystifications of Dr. Chambers. The best way to escape hallucinations as to what took place in Shakespeare's life and mind is to study vigilantly what really took place in the making of the plays ascribed to him. The proof lies in noting, as we thus do again and again, that the most egregious hallucinations are always those presented to us by the authorities who either evade or condemn such inquiry.

When all is done, perhaps, our successors may still find themselves saying, with Emerson, that the real Shakespeare is past discovery, that as to him they are "still out of doors." But at least we may strive to escape just reproach on their part by taking sober

wrote, and how he apparently came to write it. That, at least, is not "idolatrous work" in the sense of Arnold's phrase, though in the quest there is perhaps a spice of piety, an energy of the love, stronger than death, which broods on by-gones while the bulk of the world pursues ever new interests.

In the meantime, however, even the work of common culture, as carried on by editors in the interests of the young, would probably gain by a substitution of scientific method for that of pseudo-æsthetic edification. A naturalistic study of the Elizabethan drama, that is to say, would tend to forestall and dislodge the fatal proclivity to didactic inference which still infests English (not to speak of German) æsthetic criticism. So good an editor as Professor Herford, even after ascribing to Shakespeare "a kind of fatalist awe" rather than a moralising purpose, is fain—on the inspiration, it may be, of Ruskin—to pull us up with a reflection on the "infirmity" of Romeo, though he is inclined to draw the line at Bulthaupt's demonstration that Romeo shows a fatal lack of judgment "when he fails to suspect life in Juliet's still warm and rosy form." This fashion of criticism is always reviving. Lowell repugned it in Ulrici, and all the same applied it himself. After an age of German *à priori* expatiation on Shakespeare's moral purpose, we get the interpretations of Dr. E. K. Chambers, which are only with a difference *à priori*, and no nearer reality.

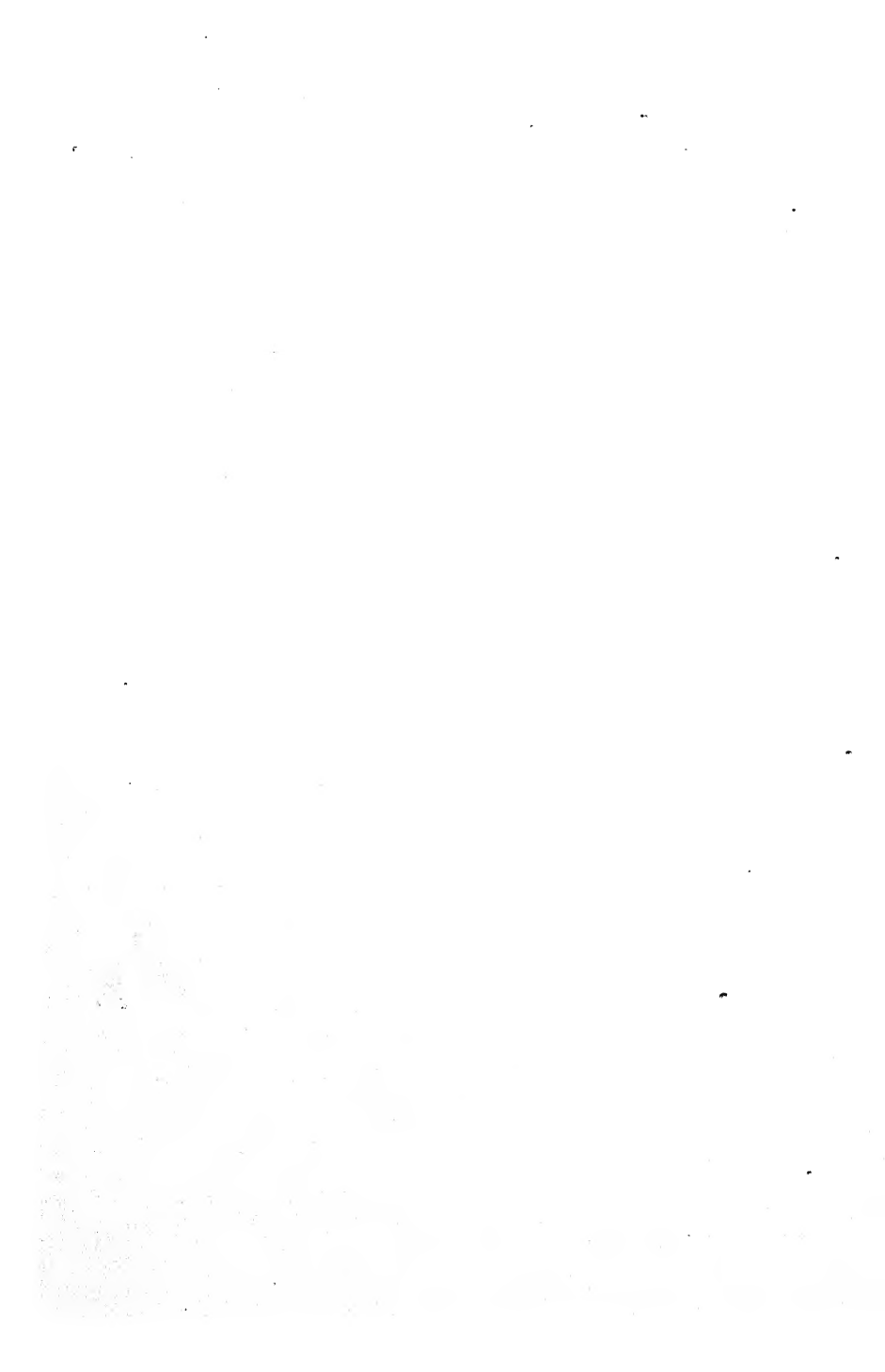
And when it comes to hearing Ruskin, of all men, expounding the weakness of the men and the strength of the women in Shakespeare, and so reaching yet another mystification about Shakespeare's view of "life" as being somehow identical with Ruskin's, we are provoked to seek deliverance from these inspirations of the Super-Governess. To be chronically told that Eve and Adam were alike reprehensible in their action over the apple, but that Adam was particularly objectionable; that Lear is one warning against self-will and Cordelia another; that Hamlet is a lesson of the dangers of procrastination; and that Romeo reveals the infirmity

of the masculine as compared with the feminine lover, is to be finally moved to ask whether the demonstrating moralists ever really see a work of art as such; and whether works of art under such treatment can retain any culture value. Peele, expatiating on the dangers of civil strife, seems really the more tolerable preacher.

The way out, perhaps, lies in getting a firm hold, first, of the simple historic fact that Shakespeare was a member of a company of players who lived by stage-plays, of which they were always needing new samples; and next of the fact that Shakespeare, taking plots very much as he found them, revised for his company other men's plays with a view, first and last, to making them serve the company's ends. That is to say, he was not preoccupied about moral lessons, though he was well enough able to moralise, and knew that moralities appealed to audiences when properly administered. As to any notion on his part of habitual edificatory inference from the penalties endured by characters in tragedy, we are really entitled to protest that he was artist enough to value a good dramatic story for its own sake, and to take a hand in staging *OTHELLO* without shaking his head over the incalculable danger of losing sight of one's handkerchief. If he could let pass, with a shrug of the shoulders, the plots of *ALL'S WELL* and *MEASURE FOR MEASURE*, he was hardly likely, at an earlier stage, to spend time in reflecting how Romeo might have managed things better; and still less to be concerned about impressing such elementary truths on audiences.

If, indeed, it be urged that Shakespeare really must have reflected a great deal on life and character, whether as presented in daily experience or in memorable narratives, we can cheerfully assent, even to the extent of putting in a rectified form Coleridge's claim that his greatness largely consisted in the sanity and sureness of his vision of life and man. And that is precisely the most constant reason for misgiving over matter in the plays which carries no such suggestion. In fact, if there be any possible concordat between the traditionary and the naturalistic points of view, it may be found in the

proposition that, after the Coleridges and the Chamberses have in their different ways done their best and worst, magnifying his "creative" function on the one hand by overlooking his sources, and mangling his mentality on the other hand by imputing to him visionary motives and a helpless subjection to occasion, it remains highly probable that besides being a great poet he had a great perception of Reality, and was, in a word, cleverer than any of us. Hence, in fact, this exploratory pilgrimage.



INDEX

A

- Abigail, Marlowe's, 172
 Aesthetic tests, 111, 115, 116, 199 sq.
 ALL'S WELL THAT ENDS WELL, Dr.
 Chambers on, 10 sq., 67 sq., 70 sq.,
 113, 116; Fleay on, 10, 11, 34;
 general problem of, 28 sq., 88 sq.;
 diagnosis of, 31 sq.; clues of form
 in, 47 sq.; imitation, crux of, 49 sq.;
 date of, 52; phraseology and diction
 of, 53 sq.; conclusion as to, 98 sq.
 ALPHONSUS OF ARRAGON, 41 sq.
 Anti-climax in Elizabethan drama, 183
 Archer, William, xii n.
 ARDEN OF FEVERSHAM, 121, 187 sq.
 As YOU LIKE IT, 30, 169
 Ateukin, in JAMES IV, 33
 Ayfer, Jacob, 140

B

- Baconism, 2, 55, 196
 Balfour, Lord, vii sq.
 Bassanio, 47
 Bassiolo, 50
 Bertram, 14 sq., 30
 Biographical probabilities, 70 sq.
 "Bitter comedy" theory, 17 sq., 37, 39,
 46, 70, 71, 75, 95, 97, 99, 100, 101
 Blank verse, introduction of, in drama,
 76, 181
 Boswell, A., on ROMEO AND JULIET,
 113
 Bradley, Dr. A. C., 116
 Brandes, G., 26, 158 n.; on Juliet, 160,
 170
 Brooke, A., 117, 140
 — Stopford, 143, 159 n.
 Brutus, 11 sq.
 Bulthaupt, 199
 Butler, S., 102 n., 105

C

- Cæsar, 12
 CHABOT, cited, 38 sq.
 Chambers, Dr. E. K., on the "accept-
 ance" of "Shakespeare," vii sq., 1-27;
 on the Folio, 3-4; on TITUS, 4,
 7 sq.; on HENRY VI plays, 5 sq.;
 on Fleay, 5, 6; on RICHARD III, 7;
 on HENRY VIII, 7 sq.; on ALL'S
 WELL, 10 sq., 67 sq., 70 sq., 113,
 116; on Shakespeare's borrowing of
 words, 67 sq.; on Chapman's cir-
 cumstances, 71 sq.; on ROMEO AND
 JULIET, 116, 143, 192 sq.; on
 Hamlet, 150

- Chance, logic of, 67
 Chapman, 14; in ALL'S WELL, 29 sq.,
 33 sq., 44 sq.; in A LOVER'S
 COMPLAINT, 105 sq.; in THE
 PHOENIX AND THE TURTLE, 106 sq.;
 character of, 35, 37, 72; style of,
 36, 38, 39, 53 sq., 84 sq., 97; verse
 of, 38, 45, 48, 52; dramatic resource
 of, 49 sq., 100; sentiment of, 51 sq.,
 84 sq.; life of, 71 sq.; disputed
 plays of, 77 sq.; literary fads of, 81;
 taste of, 100
 CHARLEMAGNE, 77
 "Chorus" sonnets in ROMEO AND
 JULIET, 114 sq., 127 sq., 188
 Clown, The, in ALL'S WELL, 37; on
 old German stage, 139, 141, 149, 150
 Cohn, A., on German ROMEO AND
 JULIET, 138, 149
 Coleridge, on Helena, 12 n.; on
 ALL'S WELL, 34; genius of, 92; on
 ROMEO AND JULIET, 196 sq., 200
 Collaboration in Elizabethan drama,
 150
 Collins, Prof. J. Churton, 2
 COMEDY OF ERRORS, THE, 6, 70, 118
 "Comic relief," 132
 Countess, the, in ALL'S WELL, 31
 Craig, W. J., on ROMEO AND JULIET,
 143, 168 n.
 Creizenach, on German ROMEO AND
 JULIET, 141 sq.
 Criticism, method in, 104, 111 sq.
 Croce, 26, 187
 CYMBELINE, 8, 25, 104

D

- DAMON AND PYTHIAS, 119
 Daniel, P. A., 137, 144 n., 190, 191
 — S., cited, 166 n.
 DAVID AND BETHSABE, 147 sq.
 Davies, John, cited, 73
 Diction, clues of, 32 sq., 53 sq., 107 sq.,
 121
 D'Olive, 50
 Double-endings, 38, 95, 97 sq.; in
 ROMEO AND JULIET, 119
 Douce, mystification set up by, 168 n.
 Dowden, 89, 112, 115, 133, 165, 166 n.,
 168 n., 169, 171
 Dyce, 156

E

- EDWARD III, 32, 167
 Edwards, T., 89
 Emerson, on THE PHOENIX AND THE
 TURTLE, 105, 111; on Shakespeare,
 198

F

- Fama*, 156, 186 sq.
 Farmer, 2
 FERREX AND PORREX, 117, 140, 144, 147
 FIDEL AND FORTUNIO, 118
 Figgis, Darrell, cited, 115 n., 144 n.
 Fleay, 5, 6, 77, 93; on *ALL'S WELL*, 10, 11, 34; on *ROMEO AND JULIET*, 122 sq., 141; temperament of, 123 sq., 154
 Fletcher, share of, in *HENRY VIII*, 7 sq., 89, 95
 FRIAR BACON AND FRIAR BUNGAY, 120, 121
 Friar, the, in *ROMEO AND JULIET*, 153, 161, 183 sq.
 Fuller, H. de W., cited, 117 n., 140
 Furness, 168 n.
 Furnivall, as critic, 3

G

- Gascoigne, 118
 Genius, conditions of emergence of, 91 sq.
 GENTLEMAN USHER, THE, 50, 90
 German versions of Elizabethan plays, 138 sq.
 GISMONDE OF SALERNE, 119
 Gollancz, Prof., cited, 117
 GORBODUC, 117
 Greene, 6, 31; in *ALL'S WELL*, 32 sq., 41 sq., 44, 62, 103, 120, 169 n.; in *HAMLET*, 43; in *ROMEO AND JULIET*, 182, 183 sq.
 Grosart, Dr., on *THE PHOENIX AND THE TURTLE*, 105, 111

H

- Halliwell-Phillipps, 34 n., 180
 Hamlet, 11 sq., 16, 18, 29, 187
 HAMLET, 25, 42, 121, 138
 Heath, 156
 Helena, 11 sq., 18, 23, 95, 98 sq.
 HENRY IV, 180 sq.
 HENRY V, 181
 HENRY VI plays, 5 sq., 7, 18, 88
 HENRY VIII, 7 sq., 88 sq.
 Henslowe's Diary, 71 sq., 73, 76
 Herford, Prof. C. H., on Shakespeare, 20 sq., 100; on Brandes, 26; on Croce, 26; on economic considerations, 74; on *ROMEO AND JULIET*, 137 sq., 141 sq., 168 n., 199
 HERO AND LEANDER, 93, 120, 163, 171 sq., 175 sq.
 Heywood, 24, 137
 Hubbard, Prof. F. G., on *Q I* of *HAMLET*, xiv sq., 136 n.; on *Q I* of *ROMEO AND JULIET*, 136 n., 143 n.

I

- Ideation, clues of, 35
 Imitation Theory, the, 8, 29, 36, 39, 42, 49-53, 56, 90, 91 sq., 93 sq., 114, 128, 159, 167, 171, 175, 192
 Imogen, 10
 Indecency, Elizabethan, 18
 Intuitionism, 112
 Invention Theory, the, 53
 Isabella, 19, 23, 95

J

- JAMES IV, 31, 121, 184
 Jameson, Mrs., on Helena, 13, 17
 JEALOUS COMEDY, the, 6, 71
 JEW OF MALTA, THE, 120, 172, 182
 Johnson, Dr., on *ROMEO AND JULIET*, 115 n.
 Jonson, on Shakespeare's learning, 2 sq.; on Kyd, 189
 Juliet, 142, 158 sq., 172 sq.

K

- Kellner, Prof. L., 156 n.
 Kyd, 104, 121; in *ROMEO AND JULIET*, 130 sq., 135, 152 sq., 162, 168 n., 178, 187 sq.; as punster, 174; as humorist, 188 sq.

L

- Lee, Sir Sidney, 168 n.
 Love, handling of in pre-Shakespearean drama, 120 sq., 171
 LOVER'S COMPLAINT, A, 56 sq., 90, 105 sq.
 LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST, 194
 LOVE'S LABOUR'S WON, 10, 11, 37
 Lowell, critical method of, 190
 LUCRECE, RAPE OF, 56

M

- MACBETH, 8, 168 n.
 Maginn, 2
 Malone, on Shakespeare's knowledge of law, 2
 Malvolio, 51
 Marlowe, productivity of, 74; treatment of love by, 120, 171 sq.; in *ROMEO AND JULIET*, 154 sq., 163 sq., 165 sq.; translation of Ovid by, 168 n.; echoes of, in the Folio, 165 sq., 169; as punster, 172 sq.; writes *HERO AND LEANDER* after sharing in *ROMEO AND JULIET*, 175 sq.; and the Nurse, 191
 Marshall, F., 120, 168 n.
 Mason, Monck, 156
 Massinger, 8
 MEASURE FOR MEASURE, 11, 15, 28,

Meissner, J., cited, 139 *n*.
 MERCHANT OF VENICE, THE, 47 sq.
 Meres, F., 2, 3, 37
 MERRY WIVES, the, 37 *n*, 75
 Methqd, the critical, 19, 104, 111, 112
 Middleton, 8, 67
 MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, A, 96
 sq., 100, 169 sq., 193 sq.
 Misprints, 180
 MONSIEUR D'OLIVE, 40, 50
 Morgan, Prof. A. E., on HENRY IV,
 180 sq.
 Morley, H., on HENRY VI plays, 7
 MUCEDORUS, 28
 Murry, J. M., on THE PHENIX AND
 THE TURTLE, 105 sq., 111
 Musæus, 176 sq.

N

Nashe, cited, 191, 192
 Neologism, Chapman's and Shake-
 speare's, 55, 67 sq.
 Nurse, the, in ROMEO AND JULIET,
 144, 176, 189 sq.
 Nurse scene, printed in italics, 190 sq.

O

Osric, 13
 OTHELLO, 25, 47 *n*.

P

Painter, 120
 Paris, Count, in German play, 145
 Parolles, 11, 13, 29 sq., 33 sq., 39 sq.,
 49
 Parrott, Prof. T. M., 50 *n*, 83 sq.
 Peele, 120, in ROMEO AND JULIET,
 123 sq., 134 sq., 150 sq., 153 sq.,
 162, 164, 191; psychology of, 159
 PERICLES, 4, 16
 PHENIX AND THE TURTLE, THE,
 105 sq.
 Phrasal clues, 32, 33, 36, 38 sq., 53
 sq., 80 sq., 87 sq.
 Piracy, supposed, of Q 1 of ROMEO
 AND JULIET, 136, 137
 Pooler, C. K., 89
 Pronunciation, Elizabethan, 81 *n*.
 Puns in ROMEO AND JULIET, 172 sq.

Q

Queen Mab Speech, the, 151, 152

R

Raleigh, Sir W., 1
 Realism in Elizabethan drama, 186 sq.
 RETURN FROM PARNASSUS, THE, 42
 sq.
 REVENGE FOR HONOUR, 82 sq.
 Rhyme. use of, 41, 47

RICHARD II, 184
 RICHARD III, 7, 9, 93
 Roderick, Richard, 89
 ROMEO AND JULIET, 113 sq.; theory
 of pre-Shakespearean play, 113 sq.;
 the chorus-prologues in, 114 sq., 127
 sq., 188; value of the story, 120 sq.;
 problem of first and second Quartos,
 122 sq., 161 sq.; the laments in,
 128 sq.; Q 1 not piratical, 136 sq.;
 the German version of, 138 sq.;
 evolution of, 150 sq.; Marlowe's
 share in, 165 sq.; Greene's share in,
 183 sq.; Kyd's share in, 187 sq.;
 Peele's share in, 123 sq., 134 sq.,
 150 sq., 153 sq., 162, 164; realism
 in, 187 sq.; ultimate criticism of,
 192 sq.
 Rosaline, 196
 Roses scene, in 1 HENRY VI, 154
Rumor, 156, 186 sq.
 "Runaways' eyes" crux, 155 sq., 179
 sq.
 Ruskin, on ROMEO AND JULIET, 199

S

Saintsbury, Prof., 170
 Schoell, Prof., 77
 SELIMUS, 42
 Sentiment in criticism, 16 sq., 18
 Seymour, 89, 113
 Shakespeare, legal knowledge of, 2;
 learning of, 2; on love and marriage,
 20 sq.; in ALL'S WELL, 18 sq.,
 28 sq.; rhyming of, 48; character
 of, 71 sq., 195 sq.; general question
 of his authorship, 88 sq.; evolution
 of, 91 sq., 100, 101 sq.; poems of,
 93; conceived as master mimic, 94;
 in THE PHENIX AND THE TURTLE,
 105 sq., 112; in ROMEO AND JULIET,
 113 sq., 121, 171 sq., 182 sq.; hand-
 ling of Juliet by, 158 sq.; sentimental
 criticism of, 193; greatness of, 200 sq.
 Shaw, G. B., on Shakespeare, 102,
 133
 Shorthand, Elizabethan, 137
 Sidney, cited, 166 *n*.
 Singer, 168 *n*.
 SIR THOMAS MORE, viii
 SOLIMAN AND PERSEDA, 188 sq.
 Southampton, Lord, 71
 Spalding on ROMEO AND JULIET, 120,
 122 sq.
 SPANISH TRAGEDY, THE, 130, 135,
 150
 Speculation, literary, 1 sq.
 Spedding, 89
 Speech-ending test, 170
 Spencer, on proof, 1 sq.
 Spenser, cited, 41, 184; life of, 73

"Split infinitive," 69

Steevens, 167 *n.*

Stoll, Dr., 82

Swinburne, on Chapman, 39 *n.*; on

TWO WISE MEN, 78 sq.; on REVENGE FOR HONOUR, 82 sq.; on

Shakespeare and Greene, 184

Sykes, H. Dugdale, 67

T

Talbot scenes, the, 5

TAMBURLAINE, 120

TAMING OF THE SHREW, 8, 75

TEMPEST, THE, 54 *n.*, 75, 101

Tennyson, 89

Thomas, D. L., 82

Tieck, 34

Time confusion in ROMEO AND JULIET,

143 *n.*, 145, 172

TIMON, 4, 16, 25, 67, 75

Timon, Dr., 143

Tito Andronico, 6 *n.*

TITUS ANDRONICUS, 2, 4, 7, 9, 24,

28, 59, 91, 139

Touchstone, 30

TROILUS AND CRESSIDA, 8, 75, 169

TWELFTH NIGHT, 56, 101

TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA, THE,
62, 174

TWO NOBLE KINSMEN, THE, viii

TWO WISE MEN AND ALL THE REST
FOOLS, 77 sq.

U

Ulrici, on the prologues in ROMEO
AND JULIET, 115 sq.

V

Van Dam, Dr. B. A. P., 180 *n.*

VENUS AND ADONIS, 160

Versification tests, 52, 119, 161, 170

Virgil, 181

Vocabulary clues, 34, 35, 38, 54 sq.,
58 sq., 80 sq., 86 sq., 107 sq.

W

WARNING FOR FAIRE WOMEN, A,
188

White, R. G., 34, 120, 122 sq.

WIDOW'S TEARS, THE, 100

WINTER'S TALE, A, 25

Wolff, M. J., 143

WOMAN KILLED WITH KINDNESS, A,
24